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ROBERTS BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, BOSTON.





# THE AMERICAN IRISH

AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON

## IRISH POLITICS



THE  
AMERICAN IRISH  
AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON  
IRISH POLITICS.

BY  
PHILIP H. BAGENAL, B.A. OXON.

*With the respects of*  
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY,  
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BOSTON:  
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## P R E F A C E .

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FOR the sake of historical sequence I have treated my subject in chronological order. Those, however, who wish to read at *once* that portion of the work which relates to the American Irish of to-day, and their influence on Irish politics, will find the requisite information in Part II.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of the *Times* in allowing me to reprint two letters upon Irish Colonization, which I contributed in October, 1881, to the columns of that journal during my tour in Minnesota.

PHILIP H. BAGENAL.

185 PALACE CHAMBERS,  
WESTMINSTER.



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# PART I.





# THE AMERICAN IRISH,

AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON

## IRISH POLITICS.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### IRISH COLONISTS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF 1777.

It was on the 13th of May, 1607, that Captain Newport arrived from England at Jamestown, Virginia, and disembarked John Smith and his Virginian colonists, consisting of "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, and libertines." On November 21, 1620, the *Mayflower* arrived at Cape Cod, and in a few weeks later the hundred and three souls on board landed at the historic rock of Plymouth. Twenty-three years afterwards, an Irish emigration took place, which in numbers alone put the small Plymouth colony altogether in the shade. It had become obvious to far-seeing men that the colonies only wanted population to make them prosperous. And, accordingly, we find the Bristol merchants treating with the Government for men, women, and girls to be sent to

the sugar plantations in the West Indies and to New England.

Whereupon, says Prendergast, in the "History of the Cromwellian Settlement," "The Commissioners of Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons to deliver to them prisoners of war; upon masters of workhouses for the destitute in their care, 'who were of an age to labor, or, if women, were of marriageable age and not past breeding;' and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means, and deliver them to these agents of the British merchants. Messrs. Sellick and Leader, Mr. Robert Yeomans, Mr. Joseph Lawrence, and others, all of Bristol, are active agents. As one instance out of many: Captain John Vernon was employed by the Commissioners of Ireland into England, and contracted in their behalf with Mr. Daniel Sellick, and Mr. Leader, under his hand, bearing date 14th September, 1653, to supply them with two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation above twelve years and under the age of forty-five, also three hundred men above twelve years and under fifty, to be found in the country within twenty miles of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Waterford, and Wexford, *to transport them into New England.*"\*

Here then, almost at the very fountain head of

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\* "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," by J. P. Prendergast, 2nd edition (Dublin, 1875), p. 90.



the life blood of the American colony of New England, we find five hundred and fifty men and women in the prime of life drawn by one contract from the purest native Celtic blood of the South of Ireland, and infused into the primal stock of the American people. But these five hundred and fifty marriageable men and fruitful women were but as a drop in this early tide of Irish emigration. The Rev. Auguste J. Thebaud, in "The Irish Race in the Past and Present," says, "It is calculated that in four years those English firms of slave-dealers had shipped 6,400 Irish men and women, boys and maidens, to the British colonies of North America."

As we have already shown, New England was the first shelter of the Irish emigrant in the seventeenth century. "In 1737," says the Rev. T. A. Spencer in his "History of the United States," "multitudes of laborers and husbandmen in Ireland, unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families in their native land, embarked for America." The same writer again, speaking of New Hampshire in 1738, says, "The manufacture of linen was considerably increased by the coming of Irish emigrants to this colony;" so that we assume that the New Hampshire settlers principally consisted of Ulster men.

Upon the general subject of pre-revolutionary colonization, Mr. Spencer makes a remarkable

statement: "No complete memorial has been transmitted of the emigrations that took place from Europe to America, but (from the few illustrative facts that are actually preserved) they seem to have been amazingly copious. In the years 1771-72, the number of emigrants to America from Ireland alone amounts to 17,350. Almost all of them emigrated at their own charge; a great majority of them were persons employed in the linen manufacture, or farmers possessed of some property which they converted into money and carried with them. Within the first fortnight of August, 1773, there arrived at Philadelphia 3,500 emigrants from Ireland, and from the same document which has recorded this circumstance it appears that vessels were arriving every month, freighted with emigrants from Holland, Germany, and especially from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. As most of the emigrants, and particularly those from Ireland and Scotland, were personally discontented with their treatment in Europe, their accession to the colonial population, it might reasonably be supposed, had no tendency to diminish or counteract the hostile sentiments towards Britain which were daily gathering force in America."

Despite the slender communication between the Old and the New Worlds, the Irish race still moved westward. Maryland, probably from its Catholic origin, was at an early period a point of attraction.

So rapidly did the Irish Catholic element multiply, that in 1708 the Protestant inhabitants passed an Act imposing a fine of "twenty shillings for poll on Irish servants, to prevent the importing of too great a number of Irish Papists into the province." Apparently, however, this had not the desired effect, for in 1717, yet another Act was passed against "Irish Papists," more stringent than the first.

Almost every civil war, rebellion, insurrection, and disturbance in Ireland, from the time of the Tudors downwards, arose more or less directly from questions connected with the possession of lands. It was the land question which helped to drive the Presbyterian Protestants out, early in the last century, as the first Irish settlers in America. The abolition of the tithe of agistment rendered pasturage so much more profitable than tillage, that the landlords throughout the North of Ireland began to consolidate their farms and expel their tenantry, most of whom were Protestants — for few of the Catholics had risen above the rank of agricultural laborers. Whole villages of Protestants, the descendants of those who had been induced to settle in Ireland by the exclusive privileges conceded to them by the policy of the Government, were depopulated. These clearances gave vast numbers of Protestant tenants to America just before the Revolutionary War, and they supplied

the levies of Washington with a body of brave, determined men, animated by all the bitterness of caste and a hatred of the power that had been the origin of their fathers' first settlement in Ireland.

Pennsylvania was perhaps the most distinctively Irish colony of any. The histories of that State teem with the doings of the Irish settlers. That the immigration of Irish emigrants was phenomenally large is obvious. "In 1727," says the *Philadelphia Gazette*, "in Newcastle Government there arrived last year 4,500 persons, *chiefly from Ireland*, and at Philadelphia in one year 1,155 Irish, of whom none were servants." In the very next year 5,600 Irish landed at the port of Philadelphia, while in the next ten years the Irish furnished to the Carolinas and Georgia the majority of their immigrants. Pennsylvania received a very large proportion of the Protestant Irish in the eighteenth century, and being far the most important settlement of the old colonies, the history of its early settlement is consequently interesting. In "A Brief Account of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, founded in Philadelphia in 1770,"\* there is some valuable information on this point. The province had long been torn by party strife, but while politicians fought the Irish settlers continued to flow in, and "the

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\* "A Brief Account of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick." 8vo. Philadelphia, 1844.

true foundations of Pennsylvania were laid without noise or ostentation by successive bands of brave, industrious, and intelligent Irishmen, whilst in the inland counties her real history was all the time writing; not, it is true, with the pen, nor on paper, but by the spade, the axe, and the plough, in characters that remain engraven on her soil to the present day." From December, 1728, to December, 1729, the proportion of the various classes of emigrants who landed in the province was as follows:—English and Welsh, 267; Scotch, 43; Palatines (German), 243; Irish, 5,655—the Irish thus being nearly ten to one of all other emigrants taken together, and that proportion was doubtless sustained down to the Revolution. These, the true founders of Pennsylvania, scattered their settlements over the interior, until then covered with the woods which gave name to that province.

In 1729 the Irish element had increased so much in Pennsylvania that a prominent member of the Provincial Government expressed himself glad to find that the Parliament was about to take measures to prevent a too free immigration of Irish settlers. "It looks," he said, "as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither; for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they continue to come they will make themselves pro-

prietors of the province. It is strange they thus crowd where they are not wanted." \*

There is a good deal of interesting matter to be gleaned concerning the character of the Pennsylvanian Irish, and as it is true that the character of the first settlers of a country determines that of their descendants, a student of hereditary characteristics may be glad of historical evidence on the point.† Mr. Sherman Day says, "They were a pertinacious and pugnacious race, pushing their settlements upon unpurchased lands, and producing fresh exasperation among the Indians." Another authority, Mr. Winthrop Sargent,‡ describes them thus: "They were a hardy, brave, hot-headed race; excitable in temper, unrestrainable in passion, invincible in prejudice. Their hand opened as impetuously to a friend as it clinched against a foe. They loathed the pope as sincerely as they venerated Calvin or Knox, and they did not particularly respect the Quakers. If often rude and lawless, it was partly the fault of their position. They hated the Indian while they despised him, . . . impatient of restraint, rebellious against anything that in their eyes bore the re-

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\* "A Tribute to the Principles, Virtues, Habits and Public Usefulness of the Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania," by a Descendant. Chambersburg, 1856.

† Historical Collection of Pennsylvania, by Sherman Day. 1848.

‡ Introductory memoir to the Journal of Braddock's Expedition. Lippincott & Co.

semblance of injustice, we find these men readiest among the ready on the battle-fields of the Revolution. If they had faults, a lack of patriotism or of courage was not among the number. Amongst them were to be found men of education, intelligence, and virtue."

From what I have said and quoted from historical authority, it is quite evident that the Irish took a prominent part in the settlement of the original thirteen English colonies, and became an important element in the bulk of the native American population. What they did on the "battle-fields of the Revolution" will be seen in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE WAR OF REVOLUTION.

THE early struggle for independence waged by the army of Washington in 1775 against the veteran troops of King George III., had no more strenuous supporters than the Irish-born and Irish-descended colonists of the day. Any one who has taken the pains to trace the deeds and fortunes of the many exiled Irishmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who fought on European battle-fields, will find that they were ever in the forefront of the fight. And the services rendered by the Irish in America during the War of Revolution were of almost equal importance in the history of that prolonged and bitter battle, as at Fontenoy, at Cremona, in the Peninsular War, or in the Crimea.

As to the actual numbers of Irishmen who fought in the American ranks, we find remarkable independent historical evidence in a curious volume published in London in 1785, the title-page of which professes to be, "The Evidence, as given before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Detail and Conduct of the Ameri-



can War.”\* The object of the inquiry was to fix the responsibility for the failure of the various campaigns conducted by Generals Gage, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis, and to ascertain the causes that contributed to the disasters which befell English arms in America. No less important a personage than Edmund Burke sat on the committee, and this celebrated Irishman, in examining a Major-General Robertson who had served in the army in America for twenty-four years, elicited a curious and interesting fact. “How,” asked Burke, “are the Provincial (American) corps composed: are they mostly Americans, or emigrants from various nations of Europe?” The answer was, “Some corps mostly natives; the greatest number such as can be got. . . . General Lee informed me that half the rebel Continental Army were from Ireland.”†

Not only were the rank and file of the revolutionary army composed very much of Irish, but amongst the commanding officers of Washington’s forces are to be found some of the most distinguished generals and brilliant fighters of the American army and navy. Some time before the

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\* A copy of this volume is in the possession of Mr. W. J. Onahan, of Chicago, to whom I am indebted for its perusal.

† In the “*Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*,” published by General Stryker at Trenton, New Jersey, 1872, are to be found the names of all the rank and file and officers of all those from the State of New Jersey, who took part in the Revolution. The number of Irish names appearing is most remarkable.

outbreak of the war, there had been formed by the Irish settlers "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," where Catholics, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Episcopalians were united like a band of brothers. Happily for the historian, the minute-book of the society, commencing in 1771 and continued till 1796, has been preserved, and the most interesting parts published. \*

Founded as the society was during the most interesting time of the colonial history, composed of most active and influential men, and meeting in Philadelphia, the focus at that period of all political and national movement and the capital of the people when independence was declared—all these circumstances give additional interest to its memoirs. The devotion of its members to the cause they espoused was acknowledged by Washington himself in a letter to the president of the society, where he described the society as "distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked." The lives of the members of the society, too, abound in instances where self-denial, and sacrifice of time, labor, blood, money, and life, gave still more enduring proof of their fidelity and patriotism.

They were not wanting, either, in the sport-

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\* "A Brief Account of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick." Philadelphia, 1844.

loving characteristics of all Irishmen. In the year 1766 the Gloucester Fox-hunting Club was instituted, and continued its meetings until the year 1818. Many of its members were also members of the Sons of St. Patrick, and from the two associations was formed the "first troop of Pennsylvania Cavalry," which performed numerous exploits at the battles of Trenton and Princeton, receiving the thanks of Washington for the many essential services which they have rendered to their country, and to himself personally, during the course of that severe campaign. "Though composed," he said, "of gentlemen of fortune, they have shown a noble example of discipline and subordination, and in several actions have shown a spirit and bravery which will ever do honor to them, and will ever be gratefully remembered by me." It is quite evident, therefore, that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick were, for the most part, men of fortune, and associated in terms of familiarity, friendship, and equality with the first men of Pennsylvania, and included among them the very best men of the country. We find, as we shall see, many among them occupying the highest and most responsible stations in the army, navy, cabinet, and Congress.

Until the flames of war broke out, the objects of the society were purely social and convivial. They met and dined and sang and joked, as Irish-

men have been wont to do from time immemorial, and many a time Washington was present at their festivities. In 1775 the revolutionary feeling became very intense, and the side which the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick took is very unequivocally indicated by the record of their proceedings at the meeting of December 17, 1775. A motion was made, seconded, and carried, that Thomas Batt, a member of the society, should be expelled for taking an active part against the liberties of America. When at last war was declared, this group of brilliant Irishmen threw themselves into the movement with all the energy and resolution of educated men. No one saw more keenly than did Washington what valuable material for leaders there was in this Society of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and we see at once that he availed himself, without any delay, of the martial instincts of his Irish colonists.

It would be impossible to go through all the roll of honorable Irish names that adorned the military history of the American Revolution; but amongst the "Friendly Sons" there are some that must be mentioned. Major-General Anthony Wayne, the son of Irish parents, entered the army at the age of twenty-nine, and fought in Canada, at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and led the assault in the most desperate attack on

Stony Point at the point of the bayonet. General Wayne was known as "Mad Anthony," on account of his reckless valor.

General Walter Stewart came to America, from Londonderry, when very young, entered the army, and was appointed a Colonel of Infantry at the age of twenty-one, causing great annoyance amongst native American officers of greater age and longer standing.

General William Thompson was a native of the North of Ireland. He accompanied Montgomery in his expedition to Quebec, and commanded the American forces at the battle of Trois Rivières, in Canada, in June, 1776.

Major-General H. Y. Knox was born of Irish parents, and throughout the whole revolutionary contest was actively engaged as an artillery officer, besides having occupied the post of Secretary of War and of the Navy, under General Washington, until 1794.

General William Irvine was born in Ireland, and was educated for the profession of medicine. He raised, commanded, and equipped a regiment of the Pennsylvanian line, and was entrusted with the defence of the north-western frontier. He subsequently became a member of Congress.

General Edward Hand was one of the most distinguished officers of the American army of Revolution, and was so high in the confidence of

Washington as to become Adjutant-General and was considered one of his right-hand men.

Stephen Moylan, the first president of the "Friendly Sons," was also distinguished by the confidence of Washington, and rose to the rank of Brigadier-General of Cavalry. He was a native of the South of Ireland, and was brother to the Catholic Bishop of Cork.

Colonel Richard Butler and his two brothers, scions of the Ormonde family, also distinguished themselves during the war, particularly at Stony Point and Saratoga. The first rose afterwards to the rank of Major-General, and was tomahawked by an Indian chief at the battle of St. Clair in 1791. Honorable mention is made of Colonel Butler in Marshall's "Life of Washington."

John Barry was the first Commodore of the American Navy, and was born in the county of Wexford. He entered the merchant service in early life as captain of a ship owned by Reese Meredith. General Washington, on his visits to Philadelphia, always stayed at Mr. Meredith's house, and thus became acquainted with Captain Barry and his abilities.

These were the principal Irishmen of this convivial society who rose to prominence in the War of Revolution. There were others from various States who are deserving of mention. But before briefly giving some account of them, let me con-

clude with one instance of the material assistance rendered by this Irish club to the necessities of the American army. At a time when everything depended on a vigorous prosecution of the war, it was found almost impossible to arouse the public spirit of the Americans. In this emergency was conceived and carried into operation "the plan of the Bank of Pennsylvania, established for supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months." Ninety-three individuals and firms subscribed, and the amount realized was £300,000. Of this, twenty-seven members\* of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick subscribed £103,500.

But besides these Irish soldiers and citizens, members of this remarkable convivial society, there were many others of Irish birth and parentage engaged in the War of Revolution. Richard Montgomery, the first General of the Continental Army who fell in the struggle, was born at Conroy Castle, near Raphoe, in the county of Donegal. He was killed at Quebec. On the news of his death, Sir Henry Newenham appeared in the Irish Parliament in full mourning, and when his wife

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\* Their names show their origin to have been nearly all of Ulster parentage, viz. Robert Morris, Blair M'Clenachan, William Bingham, J. M. Nesbitt, Richard Peters, Samuel Meredith, James Mease, Thomas Barclay, Hugh Shiell, John Dunlap, John Nixon, George Campbell, John Mease; Bunner, Murray, and Co.; John Patton, Benjamin Fuller, George Meade and Co., John Donaldson, Henry Hill, Kean and Nichols, James and Samuel Caldwell, John Shee, Sharp Delany, Tench Francis.



visited Ireland, she was visited by the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont.

The three brothers, John, Daniel, and Ebenezer Sullivan, were three very conspicuous figures throughout the revolutionary period. Indeed it is claimed for John Sullivan that he struck the first blow for American Independence. He and John Langdon, in 1774, seized the military stores at Fort William and Mary, at the entrance of the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This was the first exploit of the movement, and the powder thus obtained enabled the rebels, as they then were, to fight the battle of Bunker's Hill. After the deaths of Generals Montgomery and Thompson, Sullivan became General of the Northern Division of the Continental Army, and served with great distinction during the succeeding campaigns.

John Stark was the son of one of the oldest Irish colonists of New Hampshire, and in looks, gesture, wit, and brogue was as Irish as if he had been reared in Cork. Daniel Webster used to imitate, with great unction, Stark's voice. One of the oldest Revolutionary Generals, Stark fought at Bunker's Hill, at Trenton, at Princeton, and at Bennington, where he achieved great renown.

Besides these, there were many other Irishmen who fought with distinction in subordinate places, and it was their example, doubtless, which led to



the enlistment of the Irish emigrants in the ranks. One thing is certain, that the part played by the Irish in the war of American independence was far more important than has hitherto been fully acknowledged. The French armies which co-operated with the American forces contained many thousands of Irishmen, and the second in command of the besieging force defeated at Savannah was no other than Count Arthur Dillon, who had brought with him his own Irish regiment which he had commanded in France.

At last success crowned the efforts of Washington, and the surrender of Cornwallis extinguished the last hopes of the British armies in America. The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick once more took to eating, drinking, and joviality, and a series of brilliant entertainments were given. General Washington had now become acquainted with the talents and energy and material assistance of the members of the society on many a hard-fought field, and by the substantial evidence of £ s. d., and accordingly he soon showed his appreciation of their services. The society met on December 17, 1781, and "his Excellency General Washington was unanimously adopted a member of the society." Not only did the "father of his country" accept the proffered honor, but also an invitation to dinner, at which were the bravest and most distinguished generals of the allied armies of

America and France—Generals Lincoln, Howe, Moultrie, Knox, Hand, McIntosh, and Baron Steuben; Colonels Washington, Smith, Tilghman, Count Dillon and Count de la Touche, Stewart, Blaine, Johnstone, Morris, Meredith, and Hill.

Thus was completed the acknowledgment of the public services rendered to America by the Irish colonists and their sons.

When the Declaration of Independence was signed in the old hall in Philadelphia, there were at least nine men of Irish birth, or Irish descent, who put their names to that remarkable document. If you step into Independence Hall in Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and look on the pictures that chequer the quaint square apartment upheld by its four slender pillars, you can see some of their portraits. The light falls full upon the wall opposite the identical little old-fashioned table where the Declaration was signed. Here is Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, a grey-haired, high-bred old gentleman, his delicately cut aquiline nose, high-bred forehead, and well-moulded jaw denoting blue blood and good ancestry. Near his portrait is that of General Montgomery, in blue uniform and yellow facings, lace ruffles, black stock, and epaulettes. Another signer is Thomas Lynch, junior, whose boyish face, beautiful eyes, and powdered head, have been done full justice to by some French artist. Here, too, are portraits of

George Reed, George Taylor, Edward Rutledge, Matthew Thornton, Thomas McKean, James Smith, John Nixon, all signers of the Declaration of Independence, and all Irish colonists or descendants of Irish colonists. With these men at his back in the very outset of the struggle, and with the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to aid him in arms in days of doubt and peril, we can well believe Washington gladly accepted an opportunity of doing honor to a race that had done such deeds and given such hostages to fortune as the American Irish of his own day.

## CHAPTER III.

### IRISH EMIGRATION AND STATISTICS.

PRIOR to 1819, the progress and extent of immigration is determined only by such meagre evidence as statisticians of that period possessed, and by the relations then existing between the United States and the countries from which persons emigrated. Authentic official information there was none.

As was natural, the current of migration commenced its flow from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from Germany through the French and British ports. It was subject, as we shall see from time to time, to many fluctuations, but continued uniformly, as a rule, up to 1806. In that year Mr. Samuel Blodget, an American statistician \* of research and accuracy, wrote that "from the best records and estimates at present attainable," the immigrants arriving in America did not average for the ten years from 1784 to 1794, more than four thousand per annum.

During 1794, ten thousand were estimated to have arrived in the United States from foreign

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\* "History of Immigration to the United States from 1819 to 1855," by W. J. Bromwell. New York, 1856.

countries (see Cooper's "Information respecting America").

From 1806 to 1816, the unfriendly relations of Great Britain, France, and America precluded immigration altogether.

England maintained the doctrine (and enforced it for some time,) "a man once a subject always a subject." This deterred many emigrants from venturing their luck in a new country. Numbers had gone to America to enter the American merchant service, and many more still might have gone whom the fear of British impressment frightened from their design. In 1806 England issued a decree declaring the coasts of France in a state of blockade, and the French retaliated in like manner. To these restrictions on commerce, and consequently on the unobstructed passage from Europe, succeeded the British Orders in Council, and the Milan decree of Napoleon. In March, 1809, the United States law was passed prohibiting for a year intercourse with Great Britain and France. In 1810, the Napoleonic decrees were annulled, and the commerce of the United States in 1811 had fairly commenced, only to see her vessels fall into the hands of England. Preparations were accordingly made for active hostilities, and on June 18, 1812, war was declared formally between England and America.

All this had a bad effect on the emigration of

the world, inasmuch as nearly all emigrants then embarked chiefly from Liverpool and Havre, and thus from 1806 the stream of emigration was pent up at its very source.

In February, 1815, peace was concluded, the tide resumed its flow, and with a speed so accelerated, that from authentic custom-house information during 1817, we learn that not less than 22,240 persons arrived at ports of the United States from foreign countries—their number, of course, including American citizens returning from abroad. Even in 1816 emigration was to some extent impeded. An English Act of Parliament allowed vessels to carry to the United States only one passenger for every five tons, while it allowed one for two tons to every other country. But, even with this restriction, in no year previous had half so many foreigners reached the American shores.

The following table, prepared by Mr. W. J. Bromwell, an American statistician, gives a view of the progress and extent of immigration to the United States from September 30, 1819, to December, 1855:—

				Total Passengers arriving.	Of foreign birth.
During 10 years ending Sept. 30, 1829				151,636	128,502
" 10½ " " Dec. 31, 1839				572,716	538,381
" 9¾ " " Sept. 30, 1849				1,479,478	1,427,337
" 6¼ " " Dec. 31, 1855				2,279,007	2,118,404
				4,482,837	4,212,624

Of these he puts 4,212,624 foreign-born immigrants; 207,491 were designated as English, 747,930 as Irish; 34,559 as Scotch; 4,782 as Welsh; while 1,348,682 were put down as born in Great Britain and Ireland, without any division as to nationality. Considering the history of the century, it is safe to assume that of the 1,348,682 persons indefinitely described, one million came from Ireland, which with the 747,930 designated would amount to only 1,747,930 as the Irish immigration since 1819. This must obviously be incorrect, as the emigration during the famine years was by itself over a million. The difficulties, however, of making an exact calculation are very great, for this reason: The immigrants on arrival in America were classed according as they came from Great Britain or Ireland. Thousands of Irish—in fact, the great majority—in this way embarking from the English ports were put down on arrival under the head of Great Britain.

Several other statisticians have made calculations as to the number of Irish emigrants to America. Mr. Edward Young,\* Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in Washington, has given some figures on the subject which are worth reproducing. They give the Irish immigration from 1846 to 1875, and I have added from other sources the immigration of later years:—

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\* "Labor in Europe and America," by E. Young.

1846.....	58,043	1865.....	82,918
1847.....	111,984	1866.....	98,647
1848.....	122,833	1867.....	114,411
1849.....	175,319	1868.....	74,779
1850.....	178,329	1869.....	79,030
1851.....	236,214	1870.....	76,732
1852.....	160,149	1871.....	64,068
1853.....	163,476	1872.....	69,761
1854.....	105,931	1873.....	75,848
1855.....	56,328	1874.....	47,688
1856.....	62,232	1875 (six months)	29,969
1857.....	73,502		
1858.....	35,916		2,721,366
1859.....	44,115		
1860.....	61,511	1875 (six months)	19,604
1861.....	33,274	1876.....	37,000
1862.....	35,859	1877.....	38,000
1863.....	96,088	1878.....	41,000
1864.....	89,442		

Mr. Hamilton Andrew Hill, of Boston, in a paper recently published on immigration to the United States, says, "Ireland has been our chief source of supply in the past, and during the last forty years has contributed nearly three millions to the population of the United States. During 1847 to 1854 inclusive, the arrivals from Ireland averaged 150,000 a year. In 1867 they were 108,857."

Another authority upon Irish emigration, the Rev. Stephen Byrne, says,\* "Between 1820 to 1872 the aggregate number of immigrants into the United States is reported at about 8,000,000. Of these 3,000,000 are accredited to Ireland. But

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\* "Irish Emigration to the United States," by Rev. S. Byrne, O. S. D. New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 9 Barclay Street.



that this proportion is too small is evident from the fact that until within a few years past, when the strong current of German immigration began to set in, the great majority of all immigrants were Irish. Of course there are given to Great Britain not specified as to nationality 544,000; and inasmuch as almost the whole immigration from Great Britain for many years was from Ireland alone, we may set down most of these as natives of that island. The proportionate emigration from Ireland during the last fifty years is marked as follows: — From 1820 to 1830, 27,106; 1831 to 1840, 29,188; 1841 to 1850, 162,332; 1851 to 1860, 748,740; 1861 to 1870, 650,000.

In table VI. of the United States Census of 1870 may be found a view of the population of the United States by states and territories, classified by race and place of birth, and showing the number of persons born in each state and territory and specified foreign country. According to this the total number of persons of Irish nativity in the United States was 1,855,827, as against 550,688 English, 140,809 Scotch, 74,520 Welsh, and 1,690,410 Germans.

The following table is interesting as showing the relative populations, according to states, of the English, Irish, Scotch and German: —

	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Germany.
Alabama.....	1,039	3,893	458	2,479
Arkansas.....	526	1,428	156	1,562
California.....	17,685	54,421	4,949	29,699
Connecticut.....	12,992	70,630	3,238	12,443
Delaware.....	1,419	5,907	229	1,141
Florida.....	327	737	144	595
Georgia.....	1,085	5,093	420	2,760
Illinois.....	53,866	120,162	15,733	203,750
Indiana.....	9,943	28,698	2,507	78,056
Iowa.....	16,660	40,124	5,248	66,160
Kansas.....	6,159	10,940	1,530	12,774
Kentucky.....	4,171	21,642	1,019	30,318
Louisiana.....	2,792	17,068	814	18,912
Maine.....	3,645	15,745	998	508
Maryland.....	4,850	23,630	2,432	47,045
Massachusetts.....	34,081	216,120	9,000	13,070
Michigan.....	35,047	42,013	8,552	64,143
Minnesota.....	5,670	21,746	2,194	41,364
Mississippi.....	1,086	3,359	432	2,954
Missouri.....	14,313	54,983	3,283	113,618
Nebraska.....	3,602	4,999	792	10,954
Nevada.....	2,547	5,035	630	2,181
New Hampshire.....	2,679	12,190	892	436
New Jersey.....	26,606	86,784	5,708	53,999
New York.....	110,003	528,806	27,277	316,882
North Carolina.....	490	677	420	904
Ohio.....	36,551	82,674	7,817	182,889
Oregon.....	1,344	1,967	394	1,875
Pennsylvania.....	69,665	235,798	16,846	160,146
Rhode Island.....	9,285	31,534	1,947	1,200
South Carolina.....	610	3,262	309	2,742
Tennessee.....	2,075	8,048	552	4,525
Texas.....	2,029	4,031	620	23,976
Vermont.....	1,945	14,080	1,240	370
Virginia.....	1,906	5,191	705	4,050
West Virginia.....	1,810	6,832	746	6,231
Wisconsin.....	28,192	48,479	6,590	162,314
<i>Territories.</i>				
Arizona.....	134	54	3	379
Colorado.....	1,358	188	165	1,456
Dakotah.....	248	77	3	563
District of Columbia.....	1,418	351	29	4,918

	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Germany.
Idaho.....	539	114	335	549
Montana.....	691	208	197	1,233
New Mexico.....	120	36	9	582
Utah .....	16,070	2,391	1,783	358
Washington.....	790	309	44	645
Wyoming.....	555	260	58	652
Total of Territories.....	21,923			

When we come to analyze the territorial distribution of the Irish population of the United States at the present day, the map published by the United States Census gives a very intelligible view of the subject. The relative number of natives of Ireland is marked in different shades of green, from light to dark. There is an almost total absence of green of any shade in the Southern States. A speck in Virginia, two or three in Georgia, and along the Mississippi, at New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Memphis. A dot of green in Texas, and another at Arkansas, and we have the sum total of the Irish in the Southern States. The presence of the negro is hateful to the Irish population, and this, together with the lack of old associations, renders the south almost a tabooed territory for Irish emigrants.

From Maine to Long Island, the map shows a broad line of deep emerald green, denoting a very thick population along that portion of the Atlantic seaboard. It contains the great cities of New

York, Brooklyn, Newark, Jersey City, Albany, Hartford, New Haven, Providence, and Boston, with nearly all the manufacturing towns of New England. South and west of this large Irish district there is another strip of green of almost the same size, but of somewhat lighter shade, covering the coal mines of Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Then we find another green border on the southern shore of Lake Ontario of the same shade, taking in Buffalo, Rochester, and the manufacturing centres of Western New York State. Almost as large a border of green, but of a lighter shade, denoting a still thinner Irish population, lines the southern shore of Lake Erie, and this shade marks the south and west of Lake Michigan. Spots of the same hue surround St. Louis, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Paul. The lightest shade of green is to be found covering a vast territory extending from New England through New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and thence along both banks of the Mississippi river into Minnesota; and the footnote informs us that the Irish population is from one to three to the square mile, while in the deepest emerald green shade the density of the population is put down as over fifteen to the square mile.

It is impossible by statistics to obtain a clear view of the Irish population in the United States,

inasmuch as the census only gives under the head of Ireland those who were actually born in Ireland. The sons of Irish parentage are all enumerated as American citizens. It is obvious that though the mere figures given in the United States Census from a mere nativity point of view may be perfectly correct, they can give no adequate indication of the amount of Irish national feeling which exists in America. The sons of Irish parents are in reality often more Irish in sentiment than their own fathers and mothers.\* But the figures given can be very readily appreciated as a means of gaining some idea of the vast Irish population which has been growing up in America, and also how it is distributed.

The plan pursued in the compilation of the United States Census tables of occupations was to refer every specification of occupation to some grand division of industry, and within these grand divisions to institute as many distinct subdivisions as the nature of the material furnished would allow. In 1870 the number of Irish engaged in agriculture in the United States was 138,425, as against 224,531 Germans. The number of Irish engaged in personal and professional services was

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\* The American Irish themselves lay claim to a population of between ten and fifteen millions, counting in that estimate, of course, the various degrees of consanguinity for which the race is proverbial. There can be no doubt that the amount of Celtic blood in the American people must be very much greater than they themselves, perhaps, would like to allow.

425,087 ; of Germans 191,212. Of persons engaged in trade and transportation the number of Irish was 119,094 ; of Germans, 112,435. Lastly, in 1870, the number of Irish engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries was 264,628 ; the number of Germans, 308,240.

Let us now examine some of the subdivisions of the labor statistics of the census of 1870, and see with what significance they bear on the statistics of territorial distribution. The total population of the United States was in 1870 given as 28,228,945. The number of natives of Ireland in this total was 1,769,375. Of the total American population, one-fifth, or 5,922,923, were engaged in agriculture, while of the entire Irish population only about one-thirteenth — 138,425 — were engaged in agriculture, as against one-seventh of the Germans, one-eighth of the English and Scotch, and one-seventh of the French. In other words, only about eighty in every thousand Irish in the United States were employed in 1870 in the pursuit of agriculture. The number of farmers of Irish birth given in the census of 1870 was 88,923, while the Germans, with 158,000 less of total population, were represented by 159,114 farmers.

Coming now to professional and personal services, we find the following comparison. In 1870 the number of Irish domestic servants was 145,956,

while the Germans were in the same subdivision 42,866. The Irish laborers (not specified) were 229,199; the Germans, 96,432. The next greatest occupation under this head for the Irish population was that connected with laundries, in which 11,530 Irish and 2,761 Germans were engaged. There were 111,606 cotton-mill operatives, and of these 18,713 were Irish, and but 1,214 Germans. There were 22,822 miners born in Ireland, and but 8,579 born in Germany. There were 12,231 woolen-mill Irish operatives, and only 2,664 Germans. There were 3,211 Irishmen dealing in liquors, and 2,677 Germans. There were 120,756 draymen and hackmen in the United States, and of these 17,925 were Irish, 11,261 Germans. Out of the American army of railway *employés* (not clerks) 37,822 were Irishmen, and 7,855 were Germans; while in the military service of the United States Government, of the 22,000 soldiers, 4,964 were Irish and 2,997 Germans.

It is unnecessary to go through the whole catalogue of labor and occupations. It is only too evident how the Irish population is distributed. The small minority are on the land; the vast Irish democracy lives in the tenement houses of the great cities, in the cottages of the factory towns, in the huts by the public works and mines, or as domestic servants in the houses of the wealthy.

It is these who form the constituencies of anti-English Irish demagogues, and who contribute their money to the various "funds" which have become, indeed, the root of all political evil in Ireland.



## CHAPTER IV.

### POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS TROUBLES OF THE IRISH IN AMERICA.

OBLIVION has long since fallen upon the very remarkable movement which in the years 1843-44 convulsed the American Republic, and which has left its name on the page of history as the "Native-American Movement." It is, however, interesting in connection with the history of the Irish people in America. They bore the brunt of the sectarian animosity which, in part, lay at the root of the discussion; they were the victims of any violence and outrage that disgraced the movement, and the action of American political parties in the business determined the political creed of the Irish in the future. The Native-American movement was, in fact, the climax of a long slumbering feeling of ignorant national jealousy of foreign immigrants, combined with a fear and hatred of the growing numbers and importance of the Catholic Church. The Irish contained in their birth and religion the two very points which were so obnoxious to the small and bigoted clique who originated the agitation, and thus obtained a

large proportion of the malediction and persecution which was heaped upon the objects of the movement.

It is hardly to be wondered that a people who were descended from men expatriated for their religious and political faith should have deeply implanted in their minds the truths of their religion. The Americans of the last generation were far more bigoted Protestants than they are to-day. Constitutionally, America has not, since 1836, had one single religious test, oath, or question interfering between the citizen and the highest public or private right. But, personally, the bitterness of sectarian feeling in America has never been eradicated; it has been merely overruled.

In the same way, in the question of foreign immigration and naturalization the American people, through their constitution, finally determined to throw open their gates of refuge to all the nations of the earth, merely as a matter of expediency. The personal feeling on the subject from the very outset was very great, and for years the question of naturalization was a burning and dangerous one. Political parties divided upon it, the Whig party opposing and the Democrats supporting the proffered privileges of citizenship.

International law has long demanded of every Government some regulations on the subject of admitting foreigners to the full right of citizen-

ship, and accordingly we find among the special powers granted to the American Congress the following:—“To establish a uniform rule of naturalization.” Washington strongly recommended to Congress, in 1790, the exercise of this right, and Congress thought it expedient to permit a foreigner to become a citizen by legal process, after a residence of two years in America. In 1795 this period was extended to five years, in 1798 it was extended to fourteen years, and in 1802 it was reduced once more to five years, at which it has ever since remained, notwithstanding the agitation of the period of Native-Americanism.

The statistics given in the last chapter afford some idea of the volume of immigrants into the United States in the commencement of the century. The New Orleans *Native American*, a paper published in the interest of the anti-immigration party, said on this point, “Few are aware of the number of foreigners daily arriving among us. Should the number of immigrants double within the ten years from 1840 to 1850, as it did between the ten years previous, we should have an addition of three millions to our foreign population; in 1860, six millions; in 1870, twelve millions; in 1880, twenty-four millions! Thus in thirty-five years, a period not very distant in the view of any one of us, and especially in that of our sons, we shall have an accumulation of thirty-eight

millions of foreigners, besides all those now in the country, who will see with Americans, but with far different feelings, the mighty foreign flood which then, and probably long before, will have borne down and swept away every landmark of American freedom." All these terrible facts have occurred, except the last. The millions of foreigners are in the United States, but the landmarks of American freedom are still standing. The "flood" is American, not "foreign," and Americans are welcoming every day the thousands of immigrants of every nationality that daily land on American soil. Indeed, it is not too much to say that free immigration and the free communication of political rights to strangers has made America what it is to-day. The Native-American movement, had it succeeded, would have overthrown the very foundations of American power.

The pamphlet literature\* of this period contains the history of this Native-American movement. It convulsed the country for some five years, and was deftly used by politicians to inaugurate a new departure of political party combination. Native-Americanism, followed by "Know-Nothingism," in fact, might almost be described as the vestibule of the present Republican party.

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\* "Address of the Louisiana Native-American Association." New Orleans, 1839. "Address of the American Republicans of the City of Philadelphia to the Native and Naturalized Citizens of the United States." Philadelphia.

Louisiana was the first state in which the Native-Americans publicly proclaimed their new programme. The "Address of the Louisiana Native-American Association," issued in 1839, is couched in somewhat inflated and exceedingly alarmist language, but there is no mistaking the tone and temper and objects of the new combination. It put the matter very plainly: "So long as foreigners entered in moderate numbers into the states and territories of the United States, and became imperceptibly merged and incorporated into the great body of the American people, and were gradually imbued and indoctrinated into the principles of virtue and patriotism which formerly animated the whole American community, so long their advent was an advantage and a benefit to our community. But when we see hordes and *hecatombs* (*sic*) of beings in human form, but destitute of any intellectual aspirations—the outcast and offal of society, the pauper, the vagrant, and the convict—transported in myriads to our shores, reeking with the accumulated crimes of the whole civilized and savage world, and inducted by our laws into equal rights, immunities, and privileges with the noble native inhabitants of the United States, we can no longer contemplate it with supine indifference. We feel constrained to warn our countrymen that unless some steps be speedily taken to protect our institutions from these accu-

mulated inroads on the national character, from the indiscriminate immigration and naturalization of foreigners, in vain have our predecessors, whether native or naturalized, toiled and suffered and fought and bled and died to achieve our liberties and establish our hallowed institutions."

It may be easily seen from this statement that the fear of foreign influence in the United States at this period was becoming intensified. An example had also been lately given in New York of the growing political power of the Irish population in that city, and, as we may imagine, it was eagerly grasped by the "native chivalry of Louisiana." The address continues: "That the minds of many foreigners have indulged in imaginings connected with the possible future usurpation of all political power in the United States, is not only shadowed forth in the hostility of a large proportion of them to a repeal of the naturalization laws, and their slanderous and vituperative assaults on the native Americans, who, foreseeing the dangers which threaten their country, have availed themselves of a right guaranteed by the constitution to every American citizen, and have petitioned Congress on this subject; but the design has been openly avowed in the following handbill, which was liberally circulated in the city of New York at the late Charter election:—  
'Irishmen, to your posts or you will lose Ameri-

ca! By perseverance you may become its rulers; by negligence you will become its slaves. Your own country was lost by submitting to ambitious men; this beautiful country you gain by being firm and united. Vote the ticket—Alexander Stewart alderman; Edward Flanagan for assessor—both true Irishmen.’ ‘Here,’ says a recent report of a special committee of its own body to Congress—‘here you have the object avowed—the subversion of your government and a revolution contemplated.’ Mark the language of this appeal, and remember it was made to foreigners in the city of New York, at an election for officers of the city government, within which they number 100,000 foreigners.”

The political ignorance of foreigners, their illiteracy, especially of the Irish section, their naturalization frauds, their demoralizing effect upon party politics, but especially their foreign associations and prejudices, were all themes of bitter denunciation and complaint.

It may be easily imagined that by such appeals the Native-American party succeeded in arousing a good deal of public feeling on the subject of foreign immigration and naturalization. It is certain that the Irish population, through their newspapers, were not slow to resent and reply to the attacks of the Native-Americans, not only against their political status, but against their religion;

and these literary skirmishes, combined with the acrimony of the platform, made the antagonism between Protestant and Catholic, American and Irish, tenfold more bitter and pronounced.

The opinions of the best Catholic Irishmen in the United States at this period were represented in the public press by Brownson's *Quarterly Review*.\* A criticism in the April number, 1850, second series, upon a speech delivered by Mr. C. C. Kelly, a Catholic Irishman, for the purpose of denouncing Native-Americanism, is therefore valuable for showing the secret springs of this religious and national antagonism. "It is such men as he," says the reviewer, "that have created the greatest part of the hostility of the American people to the naturalization of foreigners, and it is such miserable defenders of Catholicity that have made many people believe that a Catholic never regards truth where his Church is concerned. We would not speak harshly of this poor man, but we would tell him that the demagogical spirit is the farthest removed possible from the Catholic spirit, and that a nominal Catholic turned demagogue is an animal of those unclean habits which disgust not only good Catholics but even heretics themselves. The man who is not incapable of pandering to the prejudices of a mob, lacks the essential ingredient of a freeman, and the louder he screams in

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\* Brownson's *Quarterly Review* (Boston 1850), p. 267.



behalf of *democracy*, the louder and more unequivocally he proclaims his slavery. If we had in this country no political demagogues of foreign birth or descent, we should never have heard of a 'Native-American Party.' . . . Multiply such orators as Charles C. Kelly, and such papers as *The Truth-teller* and *The Nation*, and you will have Native-Americanism and more than you can manage. The distrust of the Catholic population arises chiefly from the facility with which they suffer themselves to be imposed upon by such orators and papers as these we mention, and the American people will never have any confidence in them so long as they suffer themselves to be preyed upon, as they heretofore have been, by a set of political harpies, whether native born or foreign born, whether railing under the Catholic flag or that of heresy."

It is quite evident from this that the sectarian political war was carried on vigorously on both sides. To scream in favor of *democracy* was evidently the rôle of the Irish demagogue at that period as it is now, and then, as now, the indiscriminate adhesion to one party was sternly criticised as inexpedient and opposed to the best interests of the Irish population. Not that it is in any way surprising that the Irish in America have contrived to support the party which always in its turn supported the speedy naturalization of

the immigrant. One of the Celtic characteristics is extraordinary fidelity to what he believes to be his party. "Spend me but defend me," was of old his motto. And the Democratic party took him at his word.

The Whig party—which afterwards became the present Republican party—on the other hand, opposed from the first the naturalization of foreigners, and their opposition to the Irish element of the foreign population was particularly bitter, as I have shown. The foreign immigrant was a political bone of contention. As a rule, the Democratic party secured the foreign vote, and this was quite sufficient to intensify any conscientious or foreboding scruples entertained by the Whigs against free naturalization.

But the objection to the foreigner, as I have already sufficiently shown, was not exclusively political. Below this was another objection which operated chiefly among the laboring classes. The great masses of the people had inherited from their ancestors the national English contempt for the Irish peasant. The Yankee laborer looked down, accordingly, with ineffable contempt on his brother Irish hod-carrier, a contempt which widened and deepened into hostility as the supply of labor from Ireland threatened more and more to lessen wages. In the South, also, the attitude taken by O'Connell on the Slavery question had

excited the highest indignation. "The cry of Repeal," said a New Orleans paper, "is but a decoy to distract our attention from the fanatical and traitorous designs of the enemies of America, or rather of Americans. They wish to play upon our too easy sympathies, and enrich themselves at the expense of our indiscriminating good-nature. They aim at the destruction of our domestic institutions, and the *supplanting of our slave labor* by their own. What if they deny it here? they openly unite with the Abolitionists at the North."

The highest objection, however, to foreigners of Irish extraction lay deeper still. The Native-American party was chiefly an anti-Catholic party. The first Irish emigrants of the present century, by the influence of their priests and their own religious instinct, were driven to settle near together, in neighborhoods where they were within reach of a priestly guide and a church. They thus were a separate people, and appeared to the Americans incapable of ever being absorbed into the Protestant life of the country. Then the old traditional hatred of Catholicism led Americans to hold that the Roman Catholic religion was incompatible with republicanism, hostile to popular institutions, and they therefore looked suspiciously on a race which was both foreign and Catholic.

The action of the Irish race, too, in their clubs

and associations gave high offence. From time immemorial the clanship of the Irish people has been remarkable. It was more than natural that in a strange land the feeling should be redoubled, and only natural, perhaps, that in the land of "bosses" these clubs should fall under the domination of individuals, and become objects of jealousy to the Americans.

All this happened, and complaints thereof were duly made. For instance,\* "The influence and prejudices of foreigners are manifested the moment they set foot on our soil. . . . They huddle together as birds of a feather. They avoid and keep aloof from Americans, and literally pronounce a curse of excommunication upon them. They join few or none of our associations, except where some special advantage is to be gained, and exclude us from their own. This they do as much from their own prejudices, national, political, and religious, as from the orders of their priests. And not only do they thus band together into social bands, to preserve their foreign nationality, their foreign prejudices, habits, languages, and purposes, but they join themselves into foreign military bodies. They call upon their countrymen as 'our fellow-countrymen,' 'United Irishmen,' 'brother Catholics,' etc., etc. Again what is the effect of all this exclusiveness, of all this foreignism, on

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\* "The Crisis." New York, 1844.

the minds of the children of these 'better Americans,' as they profess themselves? It is clearly and assuredly to make them also 'better Americans.' They are early introduced into their associations, and zealously instructed in all the mysteries calculated to make them such Americans. One of the means to accomplish this is to prevent them, both by inclination and prejudice, and by the command of priests, from uniting with the children of native Americans in our Public Schools. 'Let not your children,' says the Catholic Diary, 'so much as touch a school book made by a Protestant teacher.' This may be very liberal in the eyes of political demagogues, but we would rather abide the decision of candid, intelligent, and patriotic Americans as to whether it is so or not. Certain it is that, native Americans being 'heretics,' nothing is more plain than that American associations are to be avoided, as well as heretics or Americans individually. How can foreigners, under these restrictions, ever become Americans?"

These remarks were printed at a time when the Repeal agitation of O'Connell was proceeding, and public demonstrations in his favor were being held in America. This was another source of criticism; the Native-Americans discerned in it a distinct violation of international law. "The Repealers," they said, "are guilty of an open and wanton violation of all principles of international

law ; and they recklessly provoked retaliation and war, as a consequence, from the British Government. They unceasingly agitate and prejudice the public mind, for no other reason than to promote their own selfish ends, and to gratify their own feelings of hostility against a friendly Government." A Repeal orator said not long since, "America cares not how soon war is declared ; two hundred thousand Irishmen can be raised, effective and willing."

The sectarian bitterness of the American Protestants found its first vent in violence in Massachusetts. For some time previous to 1834, "a wild course of fanaticism and bigotry had been pursued by certain Protestants in our country against the Roman Catholic Church." These are the words used by a "Protestant native of Philadelphia" in a pamphlet published in 1844.\* Protestant clergymen in Boston made impassioned no-Popery harangues ; pamphlets and tracts of the most inflammatory character were published. The very newsboys sold sheets by announcing the contents to be articles against the Catholic religion. A scandalous book was published, reflecting upon the moral character of Roman Catholic *religieuses*, and the climax of the *odium theologicum* came in

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\* "The Truth Unveiled, or a Calm and Impartial Exposition of the Origin and Immediate Cause of the Terrible Riots in Philadelphia on May 6-8, 1844."

the burning down in 1834, by a Boston mob, of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, an act which was the outbreak of a population that had been excited by the fiery sermons of well-known Protestant clergymen.

Then came the action of Bishop Hughes, a Catholic prelate, on the school question, at a time when the popular mind was very much agitated by long and previous attacks on his communion. The case was thus put by the bishop. He addressed the School Commissioners of New York, and requested, as the guardian of the faith of Catholic children, that the Protestant Bible might not be used for a reading-book in the public schools. If it would not be dispensed with, he requested that, as the Catholic population were taxed to support the school system, he might be allowed to have them separately instructed, and be allowed the same sum for the education of Catholic children as was paid by the public for the instruction of the others. This request of Bishop Hughes raised a storm of indignation; the School Commissioners declined to grant the request, and it was finally referred to the decision of the ballot-boxes or a popular election. The flame which had been burning already so fiercely was fanned into a conflagration. "Protestantism and no Popery" became arrayed against "Bishop Hughes and Catholicism," and the election struggles were



warmly contested. The final issue was the granting of the petition of Bishop Hughes, and the Catholic children of New York were educated separately, and the Native-Americans were furnished with yet another watchword, "The Bible in the Schools," wherewith to wage their sectarian war.

Just at this season of excitement the Protestant Association was formed in Philadelphia, and the self-same tactics were employed as had in Massachusetts resulted in the burning down of a Catholic convent. The pulpit orators descanted on "Anti-Christ" and "the abominations of the Roman Catholic Church." Women and children were frightened by stories of horrid conspiracies. A crusade was preached against papists, and in a very short time Philadelphia was filled with discord and alarm. The peace of the community was broken, and on May 6, 1844, a terrible riot broke out, which was continued for three days, and resulted in the burning down of two Catholic churches, one Catholic seminary, two Catholic parsonages, and a Catholic theological library. It is needless to say that there were retaliations during these awful days, and the ceaseless abuse cast upon the Irish by the three Philadelphia papers was revenged by lawless outrage on the part of the Irish population.

The Native-American movement subsided after this climax of horror, but the anti-Romish feeling



only slumbered to burst out again in a few years. The decade of American history which opened in 1850 was fraught with remarkable events. The question of slavery and the Southern State rights became year by year more violently agitated and discussed. The old Whig party, of which Webster and Clay were the leaders and brightest ornaments, fell to pieces, and upon its ruins arose the new Republican party, which carried on the slavery question to its final issue, and, under the presidency of Lincoln, consolidated the Union for ever.

The history of the formation of the Republican party is interesting in connection with the Irish question, for, in fact, it resulted very considerably from the recurrence of those opinions and prejudices of foreigners and Roman Catholicism to which we have alluded in the Native-American movement.

The "Know-Nothing" combination of 1854 was the first political party in the history of America which undertook a campaign which was influenced by secret rules and organizations. The new party had a regularly prescribed ritual of oaths, passwords, signs, and ceremonies of initiation. The ritual was betrayed, and published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, and subsequently copied by Democratic papers throughout the state. A few of its articles show sufficiently the nature of the Asso-

ciation. It is headed, "The Know-Nothing Ritual, or Constitution of the Grand Council of the United States of North America. Adopted unanimously, June 17, 1856, the Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker's Hill." The motto adopted by the Know-Nothings was a supposed order of Washington's on the eve of an important battle, which has no evidence to support its promulgation — "Put none but Americans on guard to-night," and its adoption shows clearly the anti-foreigner spirit of the movement.

Article I. ran as follows :— "This organization shall be known by the name and title of the Grand Council of the United States of North America, and its jurisdiction and power shall extend to all the districts and territories of the United States of North America."

Article II.: "A person to become a member of any subordinate council must be twenty-one years of age; he must believe in the existence of a Supreme Being as the Creator and Preserver of the Universe; he must be a native-born citizen, a Protestant born of Protestant parents, reared under Protestant influence, and not united in marriage with a Roman Catholic."

The objects of the association were declared to be "to resist the insidious policy of the Church of Rome and other foreign influence against the institutions of our country by placing in all offices in

the gift of the people, or by appointment, none but native-born Protestant citizens."

The oath ran in part as follows:—

"You and each of you, of your own free will and accord, in the presence of Almighty God and these witnesses, your right hand resting on this Holy Bible and cross, and your left hand raised towards heaven in token of your sincerity, do solemnly promise and swear that you will *not make known* to any person or persons any of the signs, secrets, mysteries, or objects of this organization; . . . that you will in all things political or social comply with the will of the majority. . . . You furthermore promise and declare that you will not vote, nor give your influence, for any man for any office in the gift of the people, unless he be an American-born citizen in favor of Americans-born ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic; and that you will not, under any circumstances, expose the name of any member of this order, nor reveal the existence of such an organization. To all the foregoing you bind yourselves under the no less penalty than that of being expelled from this order, and of having your name posted and circulated throughout all the different councils of the United States as a perjurer and as a traitor to God and your country, as a being unfit to be employed and trusted, countenanced, or supported in any business transaction, as a person un-

worthy the confidence of all good men, and as one at whom the finger of scorn should ever be pointed. So help you God."

As each oath-taker said to this harangue, "I do," it is not surprising that, on being questioned by an outsider as to what this new association was, he always answered, "Oh, I know nothing about it." And it was from the continual reiteration of this assertion that the organization gained the nickname of the "Know-Nothing Party."

For a brief period the whole of the United States was aflame with this new thing in politics. It swept along like a prairie fire, and then disappeared in the sea of the anti-slavery agitation. But the leaders of the Know-Nothings knew what they were about. For the time it was successful. Know-Nothings gained the mastery in the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire State elections by a judicious combination of Anti-Catholicism, Abolitionism, Freesoilism, and the old Whig party. Mr. Gardner, who was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1855, disbanded several military companies of militia who were born in foreign lands. John Mitchel, the well-known Irish revolutionist, who at this time, after his escape from Van Diemen's Land, was editing a paper called the *Citizen*, denounced the disbanding of Irish militia companies in strong language.

"Since the *Citizen* was established," he says,

“seeing that the existence of separate Irish-German and Native-American companies could not be helped, we have earnestly impressed upon the Irish soldier that he bears arms solely for his adopted country, whose laws he is bound to obey, and whose flag and constitution he is to defend with his life. We have loudly condemned the anomaly and absurdity of what is called the ‘Irish’ vote, (another mischief invented and used by American politicians,) and exhorted our countrymen not to vote in masses or batches as Irishmen, nor suffer electioneering intriguers to ‘make capital’ of them by a few blarneying phrases. . . . But submit to no brand of inferiority, no shadow of disparagement at the hand of these natives. . . . We are happy to find that Colonel Butler, of Lowell, refuses to brook the outrage. He declines to transmit the order for disbandment, invites a court martial, and appeals to the law. And the Shields Artillery of Boston have taken like action in the case. If, however, the final decision be against you and Colonel Butler, and if the military companies of foreign birth are actually disarmed and disbanded, then for every musket given into the state armory, let three be purchased forthwith; let independent companies be formed—there are no Arms Acts here yet; let every ‘foreigner’ be drilled and trained, and have his arms always ready. For you may be sure, having some experi-

ence in that matter, that those who begin by disarming you mean to do you a mischief. Be careful not to truckle in the smallest particular to American prejudices. Yield not a single jot of your own; for you have as good a right to your prejudices as they. Do not by any means suffer Gardner's Bible to be thrust down your throat. Do not abandon your post or renounce your functions, as citizens or as soldiers, but after the last and highest tribunal is open to you, keep the peace; attempt no 'demonstrations,' discourage drunkenness, and stand to your arms."

Such were some of the civil, political and religious troubles of the Irish during the period extending from the commencement of the naturalization question, down to the War of Rebellion. They have left their marks to the present day. There is still considerable jealousy of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the increasing political power of the Irish, though it is not expedient for American politicians to proclaim it from the house-tops. Native-Americanism and Know-Nothingism is now only a sub-mental feeling, but, like some of the subterranean rivers of America, it runs strong and deep.

## CHAPTER V.

### PRESENT POSITION OF THE IRISH IN AMERICA.

SINCE the final issue of the American War of Rebellion, the position of the Irish in America has in every way changed. They have been acknowledged as a power in politics, in religion, and society. They have not increased in popularity as a section of the American population, principally because they have always persisted, against their own interests, in keeping up their distinctiveness of race and religion in a manner antagonistic to the great mass of the American people. Their bands, their societies, their newspapers, and their foreign politics, all very well when unobtrusive, have from time immemorial been distasteful to the undemonstrative and more Puritanic or native-American. But the Irish have grown great in numbers, and the shrewd Yankee caucus-man has long since appreciated the big battalions of the Irish at the ballot-boxes, and votes are facts in America often more potent than even dollars.

But the subject of the Irish in America when discussed with an American has evidently a sting in it. It is a subject the very history of which, as

we have endeavored to show, involves the conflicting tastes, passions, and prejudices of the American community. The Irishman has long been taught to look upon America as the refuge of his race, the home of his kindred. His feelings towards her are those of love and loyalty. But when he lands, his great expectations are sometimes checked. He often finds himself slighted as a man, and his people despised as a race, and this not by any means directly, but indirectly. Then he throws himself with all the fervor of his race into party politics, determined to show that he is as good as the best. Five years' probation (sometimes less) in electioneering tactics makes him an able auxiliary at the poll, and soon the fierce zeal with which he enters political strife excites the jealousy and dislike of the native American. The most sober and tolerant cannot endure the boisterous patriotism of the newly-fledged citizens, nor feel at ease in seeing those who were a few years ago despised subjects of England acquire *per saltum* an equality of right with the offspring of home-born Republicans. It is this survival of Native-Americanism which makes the Irish question in America a delicate one from a political point of view. And when the fate of a Presidential election depends upon the votes of a single state, and that state is New York, the empire state of the Union, which is governed almost entirely by the Irish



vote, we then see how bitter may be the thoughts of old-fashioned Americans when they find the election of a President virtually in the hands of a race whom for years they have looked upon as alien and inferior.

The more modern Americans, however, have accepted facts, and, with the well-known ingenuity of the race, have turned the Irish population to good advantage. They manipulate Irish nationality, flatter Irish pride, and "scoop" the Irish vote with the same aptness that they corner wheat in Chicago, or "utilize the margin" on the New York Stock Exchange. But if the Americans are still jealous of the political power of the Irish race that is planted in their midst, there is also in some quarters a religious-born fear and distrust of that Catholic Church which has been built up by means of the Irish population to its present position of wealth and influence.

An interesting work has been published by the Right Rev. Dr. Spalding,\* Bishop of Peoria, United States, on the religious mission of the Irish race, which gives authoritatively some information upon the aims and scope of the Roman Catholic Church in America, as well as of the religious aspect of the Irish question. "The one constant and abiding cause," says Bishop

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\* "The Religious Mission of the Irish Race and Catholic Colonization," by J. L. Spalding, D.D. New York, 1880.

Spalding, "amid the rise and fall of empires, is religion . . . embodied in the Catholic Church. . . . As she may be attacked by men, she may also be defended by them. . . . And this, I take it, is the religious mission of the Irish people in the new era upon which the Catholic Church is now entering."

Speaking of the progress of Catholicism in America, the Bishop says, "The thirteen American colonies which a hundred years ago declared their independence of the power by which they had been founded were intensely and thoroughly Protestant. . . . At the breaking out of the War of Independence there were not more than twenty-five thousand Catholics in a population of three millions. They had no bishops, they had no schools, they had no religious houses, and the few priests who were scattered among them generally lived upon their own lands, or with their kinsfolk, cowed by the fearful force of Protestant prejudice. . . . An observer who a hundred years ago should have considered the religious condition of this country, could have discovered no sign whatever that might have led him to suppose that the faith of this little body of Catholics was to have a future in the American Republic; whereas now there are many reasons for thinking that no other religion is so sure of a future here as the Catholic. "The Church in the United States,"

continues the writer, "is no longer confined to three or four counties of a single state. It is co-extensive with the country, embracing north and south, east and west. Its members are counted by millions, its priests and sacred edifices by thousands. The arch-bishops and bishops rule over eleven metropolitan and fifty-four suffragan sees. The religious homes for men and women, its colleges, academies, and schools, are found in every part of the Union. It has acquired the right of domicile; it has become a part of the nation's life. It is a great and public fact which men cannot, if they would, ignore."

This category of Catholic power and influence has been reproduced in order to emphasize Dr. Spalding's final remarks. "If now," he says, "we turn to explain this rebirth of Catholicism among the English-speaking peoples, we must at once admit that the Irish race is the providential instrument through which God has wrought this marvelous revival. . . . The Irish have made the work of the converts possible and effective, and they have given to Catholicism in this country a vigor and cohesiveness which enable it to assimilate the most heterogeneous elements, and without which it is not at all certain that the vast majority of Catholics emigrating hither from other lands would not have been lost to the Church."

Such language as this is remarkable evidence as to the religious aspect of the Irish question in America. The Roman Catholic clergy have built up the greatness of their Church in the United States by means of the Irish masses, whom they persuaded and commanded to settle in the great cities, for ecclesiastical purposes, when the great emigration commenced. The scattering of the Irish over the land and their absorption amongst the native American element was from the very first discountenanced by the Catholic hierarchy, and the present social misery and poverty, squalor, and crime in the vast Irish population of the Eastern American citizens is directly attributable to the old policy of the Catholic Church. Now that the Catholic Church has no further need of centralization, we find a new and healthier departure inaugurated, with Dr. Spalding and Bishop Ireland as earnest advisers and directors.

But, it may be asked, is not this vast element of Catholicism feared by the American people? Is it not dreaded as an influence which is uncongenial, if not altogether incompatible with Republican institutions? Mr. Froude has pronounced his verdict upon the case of "Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States," and, after much forebodings declares that "the conflict will go on, and may last for some generations. Liberalism will not easily be convinced that it had been mistaken ;

and Romanism, burdened as it is with so many spiritual incredibilities and so dark a history, could never have stood its ground, or have recovered ground which it has lost, unless it represented something most real which the world cannot afford to forget. It will not win in the long run."

In this I concur, though for different reasons to those given by Mr. Froude. Whatever the ultimate end may be of the Catholic Church, I do not believe the American people have the slightest fear of any injury being effected to themselves as a nation, or to their institutions as a Republic, by the action of the Roman Catholic Church. The Irish element in the population is by no means the priest-ridden flock of sheep which Mr. Froude represents them to be. The generations of Irishmen who have been born in Ireland, and who have brought with them from their native country that primitive reverence for, and the filial obedience to, the priest which has always been the characteristic of the Irish at home, have, no doubt, reproduced their old habits in their new hearths.

But these are not the leading men in the Irish population. The second generation of Irish are Americans first and Catholics afterwards to a very great degree. The theory of the Republic which Mr. Froude puts so well they have accepted and abide by. The American Irishman of to-day, is able to take care of his own interests, temporal

and eternal, at the same time rendering reverence and respect to his clergy. He has a right to go his own way, to worship under his own forms, to speak his own thoughts, and to have a voice in the general management, and he does all these things. In politics he is not, and will not be, guided by his clergy. His press has no Catholic censor, as any one who reads the *Irish World* can readily see, and he has learnt such toleration of other creeds as is unknown in Ireland.

The Catholic clergy in America have long been fighting the battle of education. They dislike the national free school education, and have set up schools of their own. They are persistently agitating for the application of the education rate to denominational purposes. Does this affect the presence of Irish children in the free schools? By no means. I myself visited a school in Boston where three-fourths of the boys present were of Irish parentage. The Irish-American supports his Church, but he is in the second and third generation becoming more and more emancipated from ecclesiastical control. Nor is it possible that it should be otherwise. The influence of surroundings, thoughts, feelings, and sentiments is stronger than dogma or doctrine, and American expression and criticism of religious topics is such as to influence the most Catholic of the Catholics. The very life of a city (and the majority of the Irish

in America have their habitations in cities) must insensibly affect Catholicism in its integrity; and, much as Bishop Spalding may hope and wish for the supremacy in America of the Catholic Church as a social and political force, it is probable that in his case the wish, and in his ultra-Protestant foes the fear, is the father of the thought.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE NEW YORK IRISH.

THE statistics of the Irish in New York city are worth examining closely, as through them we can best decipher their social and physical condition, and compare it with that of the Irish who have passed by the great city and settled upon land in the Western States. According to the census of 1876, the population of New York was 942,292, composed of 523,198, or 55.5 per cent., native Americans; 202,000, or 21.4 per cent., Irish; 151,000, or 16.1 per cent., Germans; and 32,000, or 3 per cent., English, Welsh, and Scotch. The balance comprised all other nationalities.

Of this population there are engaged at common drudgery of the severest and worst-paid kind—

50	per cent.	of Irish,	
20	„	„	Native Americans,
16	„	„	Germans,
14	„	„	English, etc.

At the best of times this class of toilers can barely live. A dull season, a severe winter, throws at least one-fourth of them out of employment. This one-fourth of 50 per cent. of Irish



have to seek their food from the 50 per cent. who are not mere drudges, so that in hard times every four Irishmen have to support one pauper countryman; under similar conditions twenty-one Germans have only one pauper countryman to support.

To prove that this degrading servitude and poverty is grinding the life and manhood out of the Irish New Yorker, and that a process of extinction is in active operation, we have only to consult the statistics of the city.

The deaths in New York city for the quarter ending March 31, 1877, were 5,986. Of these, 1,239 were Irish born, giving an annual death-rate of 24.50 per thousand; and 593 were of German birth, giving an annual death-rate for them of 15.7 per thousand. On arriving in this country the Irish are as healthy and as strong as the Germans; how is it that one improves and the other deteriorates? Here are 440 deaths of the Irish in one quarter, or 1,760 in the year, which might have been prevented by a more liberal diet and a toil less excessive.

The number of marriages tell better than anything else the prosperity of a people. For the year 1873, in New York only ten per thousand of the Irish indulged in matrimony, against forty-two per thousand of the Germans. This proves that the Germans are four times as prosperous as the

Irish, or four times as reckless,—which is not probable.

The poor food and excessive toil has also its bad effects on the American-born children of Irish parents. For the three months ending March 31, 1877, in New York, 1,218 children were born to Irish fathers, but in the same time there were 1,013 deaths, or 83 per cent. of the births, of American children having Irish fathers. For the same time there were 2,407 births to German fathers. The deaths of American-born children having German fathers during the same time were 840, or about 35 per cent. of the births. So that in New York we find the Irish dying faster than any others, less given to marriage than any others, and more given to hard work and fasting than any others.

As long as 50 per cent. of our number are poorly paid and ill-fed drudges, so long will they be intemperate, for intemperance is often an effect of poverty as well as a cause. And in proportion as they are intemperate will they be disturbers of law and order. Their poverty will keep them from marrying, and, when combined with severe toil, will bring them to an early grave.

I was not surprised at the statistics I have quoted when I visited the tenement houses in New York where the Irish population dwell.

The effect produced upon the mind by an in-

spection of these human rookeries is a vehement desire to pull down and raze to the ground the vast system which holds in bondage thousands and thousands of men, women, and children. These high brick houses tower up to heaven, each flat holding from five to ten families, and one building numbering frequently a population of six hundred souls. To their credit be it said, the condition of the Irish is by no means the worst, but the atmosphere of the place is death, morally and physically. Crowded into one small room a whole family lives, a unit among a dozen other such families. Can such a place be called a house? Most assuredly not. There is a high rent to be paid — but no one dares in New York to say with Michael Davitt that such a rent is an “immoral tax.” The street below is dirty and ill kept. On the basement is a beer saloon, where crime and want jostle each other, and curses fill the air. On the other side is an Italian tenement reeking with dirt and rags. Close by is a Chinese quarter, or a Polish Jew colony.

Everywhere the moral atmosphere is one of degradation and human demoralization. Gross sensuality prevails. The sense of shame, if ever known, is early stifled. Domestic morals are too often abandoned and simple manners are things of the past. There is no family life possible in such surroundings; no noble traditions can descend

from father to son. The fireside is hired by the week, the inmate is a hireling, and his family are most probably chained as hirelings also in some great neighboring factory mill. It is from these vast nurseries of poverty that the Irish in New York pour forth to attend the demonstrations of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Healy, and Father Sheehy, and pay out their hard-earned dollars to keep up a political agitation thousands of miles away, in which they can never have actual hand or part, or derive any benefit whatever. How much better it would be for the *Irish World* to set on foot a gigantic fund for the transportation of some thousands of the tenement Irish to the West, than to lend its efforts towards transforming them into reckless Socialists and Communists, robbing them of their earnings, and filling their minds with dreams of the impossible.

Poor food and hard work have had terrible effects upon the American-born children of Irish parents, especially when the parents have succumbed to the one gigantic temptation of the country—drink. The general mortality of the foreign element is much greater than that of the native element of the American population; and of all the various foreign races the Irish fare worst. They show a marked liability to diseases of the “constitutional group,” and a comparative exemption from the diseases of the “febrile group,”

especially the eruptive fevers and diseases of the digestive and nervous system. The diseases most common and most fatal are consumption, cancer, pneumonia, and diarrhœal diseases; while an extraordinary liability to bronchitis and Bright's disease points to the prevalence of intemperate habits.

Thus live the descendants of the great Irish exodus of 1845-48. They came unprovided and uninstructed in the experience of American life. Fallen like tired migratory birds on the eastern shores of the shelter continent, they felt the impulse of migration exhausted; their money gone, with no definite purposes or plans, they had at once to adapt themselves to place and circumstance. They sought such occupation as offered; they underbid labor, adapted themselves manfully to the conditions of industry, or joined the rabble that trooped as "ballot-stuffers" and "shoulder-hitters" in the train of the Tweeds, the Morrisseys, and the Kellys of the day; and so became the scourge of American politics. In those bygone days when the Irish-American nation began to grow on Yankee soil, had Government directed and assisted the tide to emigration, hundreds of thousands would have been carried out west; where, accustomed to agricultural pursuits, they would have become quiet and prosperous citizens, instead of firebrands and perpetuators of the animosity between England and Ireland. All

other nations have directed themselves straight to the spot where the labor was most appreciated; the Welsh to the mining districts in Ohio; the Norwegians and Swedes to four States west of Lake Michigan, where, with the Germans, they busy themselves in agriculture. But to their own loss and unhappiness, and more by their own misfortune than by their fault, the great bulk of the Irish have blocked up the channels of immigration at the entrances, and remain like the sand which lies at the bar of a river's mouth.

Let us now see how the minority have succeeded in the far west, where tenement houses are unknown, and life in a prairie cottage holds out prospects of health, wealth, and domestic contentment.

## CHAPTER VII.

### IRISH SETTLERS IN THE WEST. ✓

THE contrast between city life in New York and country life in Minnesota is, indeed, remarkable. It was hard to keep from the mind's eye the squalor and poverty of the crowded haunts of the Irish in the eastern cities, as I journeyed up from Chicago to St. Paul, and surveyed the fine lands which had already been entered into and possessed all along the Chicago and North-Western Railway.\*

At St. Paul, the capital city of the north-west, I became acquainted with the Right Rev. Dr. Ireland, coadjutor-Bishop of Minnesota, who gave me every facility for investigating the system of colonization which is now connected with his name.

The plan of emigration which is now being advocated as a means of re-distributing the Irish population of the United States, was first put into practice by two French Bishops of the north-west. The names of these first apostles of Catholic

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\* This is one of the most important railways of the west, and has no less than ten divisions. The road is in capital order, and runs through Omaha to the west, and St. Paul to the north-west. No better route can be taken for general purposes.

colonization in America were Mathias Loras, the first Bishop of Dubuque, and Joseph Cretin, the first Bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota. Bishop Loras' see, in 1837, when he was consecrated, embraced the whole region now forming the States of Iowa and Minnesota.

By great energy and considerable enterprise he planted several small colonies, and made the conditions of soil and climate known to the world by means of a large correspondence with the American and European press. He wrote a series of letters, I believe, to the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* upon the subject in 1853, and his descriptive accounts of the country and his unceasing efforts to attract settlers were so successful, that in a single year, 1856, the Catholic population of Minnesota was doubled; and in no other State is there relatively such a large number of Irish farmers as in Iowa and Minnesota.

The Civil War put an end to the western stream of emigration for many years. It was not until after the commercial crisis of 1873 that vast multitudes of American citizens went out west and took possession of the land. Ever since that period the wave of emigration has continued unabated. It is estimated that two millions of people have gone from the older States westward during the past six years.

The sales of public and railway lands have been



proportioned to this movement. The General Land Office of the United States from 1875 to 1877 disposed of from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 acres of land a year. For the year ending June 30, 1878, the quantity disposed of was over 7,000,000 of acres, and for the year ending June 30, 1879, it was 8,650,000. The sales of one railway company, the Burlington and Missouri Railway, in Nebraska, for 1878, were 511,609 acres. Population is moving westward *en masse*, and the Pacific Ocean is the only stopping-point of the great line of invasion.

It is with a strong appreciation of this great and important fact that the Catholic clergy of America are now urging the necessity of the Irish race in America taking steps to join in this property-absorbing movement. In twenty years it will be too late, and the Irish population will be condemned to remain for ever the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, the drudges, the factory hands of the American Republic.

Some years ago there was abundance of cheap land in Minnesota, nearly all of which belonged to railroad corporations, the Government lands having been, for the most part, disposed of to older settlers. In 1876 Bishop Ireland opened his first colony in Swift county, and his plan, which he has pursued in every succeeding case, was very simple. He selected a tract of land some thou-

sands of acres, the exclusive right to dispose of which was given to him by the railroad company.

Having thus obtained the *locus in quo*, Dr. Ireland formed a bureau and obtained a secretary to work the organization, by which he brought the land, with full details as to price and conditions, under the notice of Catholic families who desired to secure homes in the west. The first person to enter the colony is the priest, selected with a special view to his knowledge of country life, who is to be the pastor of the flock. He is on the ground to receive the first family, who find at once in him a friend and help. The church is the first building put up, and around this the earliest colonists choose their lands. Town sites are laid out at proper distances along the line of railroad, and in a few weeks the colony is in working order, with a post-office and a large general shop. No public house is allowed to be opened. The temperance society is the first organization formed, and total abstinence is inculcated as one of the first axioms of prairie life. Timber to build the cottages of the settlers is brought by the railroad to the scene of operations at a reduced rate, and farms are selected in advance for those who, with good recommendations, apply to become part of the new colony. The country being a plain, there are no trees to be cut, no roads to be made, and as there is a herd law in Minnesota, no fences are

built. When those who have bought farms so desire the priest has some twenty acres of each farm ploughed the summer before their arrival. This is absolutely necessary if wheat is to be sown; not so in the case of flax, Indian corn, and oats. The roots of the prairie grass that has been growing for centuries hold the earth in such a tangled, complex mass that it is only after frost and thaw that it yields sufficiently to allow of a crop of wheat to be raised.

The St. Paul Catholic Colonization Bureau, as it was called, did nothing in a pecuniary sense for the new settlers, except to bring organization to bear upon their transportation and acquisition of land. The movement was purely religious and philanthropic, the only material advantage being the original right of pre-emption of railway lands, which Bishop Ireland secured at a fixed rate for so many years, so that the advancing value of real property did not affect the incoming occupants. The railroad terms for the sale of land are not so easy as those of the Irish-American Colonization Company, but they offer terms for the ultimate purchase of the fee-simple which are exceedingly low as compared with those in the old country. An intending settler writes — say, this month — to the St. Paul Bureau to have eighty acres of land in Avoca, \$6 an acre, the price for the fee, selected for him. For those eighty acres he pays

down, before getting his contract from the railroad company, one year's interest—some \$33 (£7). He writes on then to the Bureau to have thirty acres of his new holding broken and ready for a crop next spring. The breaking up of the land will cost him \$2½ an acre, or \$75 (about £17).

The settler arrives himself next spring, pays another year's interest to the railroad company, puts in his crop, and has it saved and ready for market in August. Up to this time, not calculating the expenses chargeable to the crop, he has paid out \$142, about £36, and has his farm open and in a fair way to pay him. Six or seven years are given by the railroad company for payment of the purchase-money, which, with the interest, is paid in instalments. From the foundation of the colony there has been a daily mail, and thus the colonists are enabled to keep up a correspondence with those who are near and dear to them. The bishops and priests of Ireland see their people come to America with regret, because they know the moral dangers to which they must be exposed. But the plan which Bishop Ireland has adopted with such marked success must place emigration to the States in a much more satisfactory light, and remove the grave moral objections which are naturally entertained on the subject. With the aid of colonization societies and bureaux of information in the cities where emigrants arrive, an easy and

effective plan is unfolded for giving the best direction for Catholic emigration, and there seems no reason why the capital of Catholics in Europe should not in the future seek investment in American colonization enterprises, which, properly directed, offer the opportunity of doing the greatest amount of good and at the same time give the best financial security.

Already the example set by Bishop Ireland has been imitated, and there exists to-day a corporation, called the Irish Catholic Colonization Association, formed on the lines of the St. Paul Bureau which I have mentioned, and intended to take up the work of colonizing the Irish people in the western states upon a considerable scale. The main object of this association is to bring about a redistribution of the Irish population in America — to lift families from the densely populated cities of the eastern states, and to place them upon the land of the west. The association was not formed for the purpose of encouraging emigration from Ireland, but in order to improve the condition and prospects of the Irish people already settled in America. But the Irish peasant, a friendless and helpless immigrant, cannot be neglected. He especially stands in need of information and aid to direct him aright in determining where and how he shall select his future home; and the association, therefore, has determined to take this branch of the work under their care also.

The history of this Irish Catholic Colonization Association is briefly stated. On St. Patrick's Day, 1879, a national conference was held in the interest of Irish Catholic colonization. Representative men from several states attended, and a corporation was formed with the following prelates members of the directorate — the Catholic archbishops and bishops of Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Omaha, St. Paul, and Peoria. The capital stock of the company is \$100,000, a trifling sum of money, but sufficient to make a beginning. With this sum the association has bought 10,000 acres of land in Minnesota and 25,000 acres in Nebraska, and the plan of colonization is substantially the same as that on which Bishop Ireland's colonies have been organized.

The secretary's second annual report gives some interesting information as to the situation and prospects of two colonies which have been already planted, viz.: Greeley Colony, Nebraska, and Adrian Colony, Nobles County, Minnesota. Notwithstanding the exceptional severity of the past winter and during an unprecedented rainy autumn, the settlers have got on without notable discomfort, and the outlook for the coming year is on all hands encouraging. The Board of Directors are engaged now in making preparations for the establishment of one or more colonies in Texas and Arkansas.

The object of the association is to be enabled hereafter to offer land to intending colonists in almost every variety of climate, and upon land where the conditions of farming successfully seem to be beyond doubt. Under existing circumstances, the only way of accomplishing this is to secure land for new colonies under conditions as favorable as possible to the settler, leaving him to deal with the railroad companies directly, as in the case of the Avoca settlement. The successful experience of Bishop Ireland in Minnesota has demonstrated the practicability of establishing such colonies on this plan, and it has the advantage that, with railroad co-operation, it is practicable to multiply colonies in many states and territories at the same time. The association is now enabled to offer choice of different temperature, soil, productions, and climate, so that taste, capacity of endurance, health, etc., can find conditions dictated by necessity or inclination.

I have had several interviews with Mr. William J. Onahan, of Chicago, the secretary of the association, and I have ocular proof of the eagerness of the people in the eastern states to obtain information regarding western colonization. A constant stream of letters pours in, and it is interesting to see that precisely the same reasons are urging precisely the same classes in the crowded American states to emigrate as exists in England.



The correspondents fall into three classes — first, persons possessing a certain limited amount of fair, and, in many cases, of much more than average intelligence, and who are moved to turn their thoughts to the west and to a home on the land in a new colony by the motive of saving their children, to be enabled to bring them up in an atmosphere and under conditions more favorable to the preservation of their religious and moral as well as material life than is possible in great cities. “Not for our own sakes,” they say, “do we wish to make this change, but for our children’s.”

Then there is another large class, possessing generally a smaller amount of means in ready money, who have toiled for years in public employments or in shops and factories, and who see ahead no hope or prospect of bettering their condition where they are. These people are eager to get on a farm, but are uncertain and hesitating as to the locality to select; and in most cases their means would barely suffice to tide them over the outlay necessary to keep them during the first, and possibly a second, year in the colony.

But by far the most numerous class are the poor laboring men, who, though in steady employment, scarcely ever have anything to put by. They work from year to year for a pittance — usually have large and helpless families to support, with no resources to depend upon except the



labor of their hands, the rewards of which are uniformly meagre. They have no provision for themselves or their families in case of sickness — no life insurance policy in case of death.

This class says pitifully, "Cannot you put us on the land and give us a chance to keep body and soul together, and save both? We see our children demoralized and degraded before our very eyes and we cannot raise them. Enable us to get them on the land and make them breathe the pure air of heaven. Give us an opening to employ our energies in cultivating the soil; get us away from the misery and turmoil and vice of the big cities — from crowded, filthy tenement houses, from miasma, disease, and death, moral and physical; give us a hope and a future to labor for. By such help you will benefit not only us whom you lift out of wretchedness and sorrow and worse than poverty, but also those who are left behind; for it is competition that cheapens wages, and the removal of some makes the labor of those who are left behind more valuable."

This is exactly what the same classes at home are saying, and I emphasize the existence of the appealing cry because it seems to me that the self-same machinery and organization which make possible the relief of some, at all events, of the American deserving poor might well be imitated to advantage in Ireland and England. A good

climate and a fertile soil do not by themselves insure the success of any colony. It is not enough to put a number of men down on the prairie and bid them take care of themselves. In many cases such a proceeding is nothing less than cruelty. The mere shoveling out of paupers may enhance the happiness of those who are left behind, but it is often the refinement of torture to those who depart. The Irishman's cabin is too often at home the cave of poverty, but set adrift from it and tossed violently into the whirlpool of an American city he is only made not merely poor, but wicked and revolutionary.

So far back as 1847 the idea of co-operation as applied to emigration was mooted in a letter presented to Lord John Russell, signed by Mr. W. H. Gregory, M.P., Mr. M. J. O'Connell, M.P., and Mr. J. R. Godley, and accompanied by a memorial. The main propositions embodied in that memorial were — first, the necessity of systematic colonization on a very large scale from Ireland to Canada, and the assistance of the State to promote it; secondly, the necessity of making religious provision for the emigrants; thirdly, the advantage of enlisting private enterprise in the form of agency to carry out the plan; fourthly, willingness to accept an income and property tax for the purpose of defraying the cost of emigration. The idea has at last taken definite and practical shape in

America; and I have given briefly and plainly what I have seen and heard of the working of assisted and directed emigration in the west. The formation of a National Board of British Colonization is a matter worthy of public consideration. Such a bureau, having agents and correspondents in British colonies, with power and funds to secure lands and houses for families, would be of inestimable benefit to the empire, and might open up new colonies whose importance might equal those of Australia and New Zealand.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ✓ THE IRISH-AMERICAN COLONIZATION COMPANY. ✓

AT St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, I first made the acquaintance of Mr. John Sweetman, the managing director of the Irish-American Colonization Company. I soon made arrangements to make an expedition to the colony which the company had planted in Murray County, some hundred and seventy-six miles southwards, and about a week afterwards found myself deposited by the railway at the village of Tracey, right in the middle of the prairie. Owing to the great and unusual rains the drive in the "stage," *i.e.* a wagon drawn by two horses and carrying the mail, was slow, inasmuch as we were forced to go across the prairie without troubling the roads, which were too deep and miry for traffic. Wrapped up in a comfortable buffalo robe, however, with clear, crisp weather, the new experience of being taken across country in the great western prairie was pleasant enough. The driver declared that for years such a rainfall had never been known. As a rule the climate is dry. Prairie roads are as dry and as hard as a board,

and afford capital going. One result, however, of our somewhat unusual route was to raise game of all descriptions — duck, teal, prairie chickens, snipe, wild geese, and other wildfowl.

The prairie in Murray County, where the Irish-American Colonization Company have purchased 17,400 acres, over which I traveled in the manner described, is a fine rolling country, with a splendid supply of water, in the shape of streams and lakes of all sizes. From Tracey to Currie, where the “Sweetman Colony,” as it is universally called has its head-quarters, I passed quite a number of lakes, all of which were dotted with innumerable wildfowl. When within two miles of my destination we met Mr. Sweetman and his superintendent, Mr. John O’Connor, driving across the prairie in a buggy and a pair of horses, into which I was soon transferred, and accompanied them on a tour of stock inspection.

Taking a few colonists on our way, we had a most enjoyable drive, and, having inspected a number of fine cattle, drove into a sheltered and well-wooded paddock on the side of Lake Shetek for the night. We arrived at the town of Currie, a small collection of about thirty houses, but nevertheless laid out mathematically, and ready at the arrival of men and capital to spring into a place of importance. As it is, the county court is held here, and a paper is published called the

*South-West Minnesotian*, in itself an instance of the survival of the fittest, its rival having ceased to exist a short time previously.

Here, then, at Mr. Fling's excellent little hotel, I lay that night after a capital supper. Next day Mr. Sweetman drove me from early morn until nightfall all over the colony, visiting the various families of which it consists.

The colony is the result of substantial co-operation in Ireland, but differs from its companion organization in many ways, but especially that the head-quarters are in Dublin, while the practical management lives here on the spot. The directors of the Irish-American Colonization Company are nearly all well-known Irish gentlemen, and include such names as the Right Hon. W. Cogan, D.L., Edmund Dease, Colonel Dease, George Ryan, Lattin Thunder, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Butler, C.B., etc.

The managing director, Mr. John Sweetman, has from the very commencement been the principal organizer and practical director of the emigration. The company is by no means purely philanthropic in its aims and objects. It was formed for the purpose of enabling some of those who have determined upon emigrating from Ireland to take advantage of the vast tracts of open country which are lying untenanted and untilled in the western states of America. In order to make the most

profitable selection of lands, Mr. Sweetman traveled through and carefully examined the states of Dakota and Minnesota, and also Manitoba, and finally purchased some twenty thousand acres of prairie land situated in Murray County, which lies on the direct road five hundred miles westward from Chicago, and between two lines of railway, viz., the Chicago and North-Western on the north, and Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul on the south.

Murray County is in area thirty miles by twenty-four, and is one vast rolling expanse of rich prairie land, presenting to the eye the appearance of an ocean of grass. In the fall of the year the coloring is dull and uniform, and is exactly like one great uncut, ripe hay-field, without anything to relieve the eye but here and there a small piece of fallow or a scanty copse. Twelve years ago Murray County was inhabited by only twelve families, and so lately as 1862 the Red Indian stalked the plains in pursuit of buffalo, and enjoyed the luxury of taking the white man's scalp whenever he got a favorable opportunity. He has gone now for ever, and his name and appearance are only a tradition. The supply of game, however, as far as wildfowl goes, is as good as ever; while in the lakes there are several varieties of fish.

Such are the native denizens of the country.

Man has during the past twelve years entered into possession of the Indian's territory with marvellous rapidity, and the extension of railways westward makes the complete settlement of the county merely a matter of time. At present there is a population of five thousand, and plenty of room and to spare. The Irish-American Colonization Company have, however, made choice of good land, and I have seen what hard-working, industrious families have, with proper assistance and advice, been able to perform in the face of much difficulty and some privation.

The means which the company have taken to insure the immediate comfort and success of the emigrants are worth narrating at length. Very few of the hundreds of Irish emigrants who have started and who are starting to take their chance in a strange land can commence intelligent and immediate agricultural operations without capital. Even if they have sufficient to buy the land, there is money required to build a house and buy agricultural implements. It has been the want of this necessary initial capital that has stranded so many thousands of the Irish race in the great cities of America, and made them a race of Gibeonites without any chance of rising in the social scale.

It is owing to the knowledge of the absolute necessity of some little capital that has enabled



the Germans, the Norwegians, Swedes, and the Danes to make their emigration successful from the outset, and, accordingly, we find them in possession, and daily taking possession, of the best lands of the western states.

The Irish-American Colonization Company has been among the first associations who have recognized a most important fact, which is most plain here, but which is not so easily appreciated at home, viz., that the two classes of people who are most likely to succeed in the west are capitalists and laborers. The one class is necessary to the other. Money is as indispensable as labor. The one gains higher interest and the other more rapid independence than in the older countries. The difficulty of getting labor is very great, and, accordingly, wages are very high.

The company, therefore, determined to select such families for emigration as would be self-supporting, and, with few exceptions, such have proved very satisfactory settlers. Each settler has possession on the following terms:—He gets eighty acres of land in fee-simple at the average price of £1 5s. the statute acre, a very common yearly rent in Ireland for the same amount of land. The company does not charge anything for a year and a half after the time of purchase. Then it charges interest for that year and a half at six per cent. The following two years it

charges a twentieth of the principal each year and interest on the balance. For three years after that it will charge a tenth of the principal and interest on the balance. Then for three years it will charge a fifth of the principal and interest on the balance. Tabulated thus, it will show that a settler who came last April would have to pay:—

	Principal.	Interest.	Total.
	£	£ s.	£ s.
April, 1881.....	0	.. ..	.. ..
Dec., 1881.....	0	.. ..	.. ..
„ 1882.....	0	10 10	10 10
„ 1883.....	5	6 0	11 0
„ 1884.....	5	5 14	10 14
„ 1885.....	10	5 8	15 8
„ 1886.....	10	4 16	14 16
„ 1887.....	10	4 4	14 4
„ 1888.....	20	3 12	23 12
„ 1889.....	20	2 8	22 8
„ 1890.....	20	1 4	21 4
	<hr/> £100	<hr/> £43 16	<hr/> £143 16

If the settler is able, he may, of course, pay off the purchase money as soon as he wishes, and thus lessen very materially the amount of interest. So much, then, for the actual land. For all the thirty-seven families who arrived last May the company built strong, comfortable wooden houses; and under these the settlers have dug a deep cellar for storing potatoes and other commodities. They also lent to each settler the following stock and

farm implements, upon which, and on the traveling expenses and the value of the house, interest is charged at the rate of eight per cent.:—

Traveling expenses for family of four adults from the sea-board to the colony.....	£12	0	0
Wooden house 14 feet by 18 feet.....	22	10	0
Furniture, including cooking stove.....	8	0	0
Yoke of oxen.....	20	0	0
Plough.....	3	0	0
Cow.....	5	0	0
Wagon.....	10	0	0
Flour, groceries, etc., for six months for family	9	10	0
Total.....	£90	0	0

What with seed and fuel, and small sundry help, the total amount advanced to each family came to about £100. The interest, eight per cent., is not a high interest in the west, and the same is obtained on the very best security.

I have carefully inspected the families who have thus been enabled to plant themselves on the western prairie. They are all located within a radius of five miles of the little town of Currie, where there are two hotels and about thirty dwellings, a grist-mill with two runs of stone in active operation, and a capital general store where all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life are to be had at a very cheap rate.

A Catholic priest arrived from Ireland not long ago to take charge of his flock, and the service is

held at present in a room, with a large congregation. A church is in process of building, and a large state school-house is nearly completed. There is no place, perhaps, where individual character comes into relief more strongly than on the wide, lonely prairie of the west.

From what I have seen of the new settlers it is easy to know the kind of men who will be most successful. They must be courageous, hardy, indefatigable and sober, patient and hopeful. I am happy to say Mr. Sweetman's importations all seem to believe in their future. They have good land, and with good hard work they have no doubt of success. Already they had broken a large portion of their eighty acres of virgin soil.

Since May each man had built himself a warm, comfortable shed for his stock, and they all had good crops of potatoes, besides some Indian corn for their cattle. Several had raised a crop of flax. On the average each settler had broken from fifteen to twenty acres, in the following proportions:—from five to nine acres of flax, from half to one acre of potatoes, from two to four acres of Indian corn. Besides these crops I saw garden produce, the result of some minor work around the homestead. The flax is a valuable crop in this state, there being a large manufacture of oil carried on in the principal cities throughout the country. One settler, who had just threshed three acres

of flax, told me he had twenty-seven bushels of produce, which he sold at 4s. 6d. the bushel, so that this will realize a considerable amount of money.

Hay is, of course, plentiful. In a few days a man can mow enough of the fine prairie meadow to stock his cattle for the winter. Indeed, the amount of hay to be cut is absolutely illimitable. It is also used very much as fuel — the old settlers tying it up into hard knots and using it thus something like turf. But there is no lack of fuel, coal being easily obtained at either of the railways ten miles away, at from 18s. to 24s. a ton.

I found, therefore, that although arriving very late in the spring, the new settlers had become thoroughly acclimatized, and had taken to farming their new lands in earnest. There was now a good deal of ploughing to be done, and this is carried on with a pair of oxen, who can break up an acre a day. The eighty acres of virgin soil, of course, must be brought only by degrees into cultivation, and probably it will take three years at least before the whole claim will be in first-class working order. Meanwhile the settlers can earn good wages helping their neighbors, the older settlers, in harvest and threshing. Flax and oats and barley are now allowed by all authorities to be the most profitable crops.

It ought to be distinctly understood that south-

western Minnesota is not a wheat-raising country. The experience of the past seven years has proved that the dreams of unlimited crops of wheat and large fortunes therefrom are a myth, and the wheat crop has for some seasons, and especially this, been quite a failure. But the land is splendidly adapted for green crops, Indian corn, barley, and oats. Hay can be cut and stacked at a cost of from 3s. to 4s. a ton. These indisputable facts, and the rolling character of the prairie, make me feel quite certain that in stock-raising will be found the most profitable pursuit for farmers, both large and small. There are perfect runs here for sheep, which thrive splendidly, and are remarkably free from disease. Much of the country around Currie resembles the "downs" of England, and, the ground being naturally dry, foot-rot in sheep is practically unknown.

For cattle the prairie ought also to be a fine beef-producer, and every year the experience of stock-breeders encourages them more and more to invest their capital in cattle. Most of the new settlers are fully alive to this, and already can be seen a calf here and there which has been bought for a few dollars as an investment. The results of my observations and inquiries have been to convince me that, without assistance or some capital, the success of Irish emigrants in the western prairie is by no means assured, and, even with such assis-

tance and capital, it is not every man who will succeed in living a happy, contented, and prosperous life.

The real success of an emigrant lies in the character of the man himself, his brain and back, his temper, capability, and determination. He must not forget that his prairie life for some years is that of a pioneer; that there is a long and rough winter to be endured, commencing in the middle of October, and lasting until April; that there is not much society, and little intercourse with the outer world.

It is not only a mistaken idea, but also one that brings sorrow and suffering in its train, which imagines that any poor person will do for an emigrant. It may be a very useful theory for those who wish to cut the Gordian knot of surplus population at home, but it has been proved practically that, to succeed, emigrants must be picked men in a certain sense — men who have practical knowledge of agriculture, a resolute will, and energy of purpose. There is nothing to prevent such men from becoming in a few years, as compared with their position in the old country, well-to-do, independent, and often rich men. Their families obtain free education from the state, and health and strength in an exceptionally fine, clear atmosphere and fair climate.

Now that the question of Irish emigration seems

in a fair way of being treated in a more scientific manner than it has hitherto been, it might be well for those interested in the subject to consider how intending emigrants might be put in the way of availing themselves of the lands in Western America. The Land Act\* has given powers to the Commissioners to enter into agreements with public bodies for the advance of funds to assist families to emigrate. There are, however, difficulties in the way of such agreements being carried into effect. Companies will hesitate to incur losses or failure, and will be slow to hamper themselves with new conditions and responsibilities.

What is wanted to bring the Government into communication with such bodies as the Irish-

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\* **CLAUSE 32.**—“The Land Commission may from time to time, with the concurrence of the Treasury, and on being satisfied that a sufficient number of people in any district desire to emigrate, enter into agreements with any person or persons having authority to contract on behalf of *any state or colony or public body or public company with whose constitution and security the Land Commission may be satisfied for the advances by the Commission by way of loan*, out of the moneys in their hands, of such sums as the Commission may think it desirable to expend in assisting emigration, especially of families and from the poorer and more thickly populated districts of Ireland. Such agreements shall contain such provisions relative to the mode of the application of the loans and the securing and repayment thereof to the Commission, and for securing the satisfactory shipment, transport, and reception of the emigrants and for other purposes, as the Commission with the concurrence of the Treasury approve. Such loans shall be made repayable within the periods and at the rate of interest within and at which advances by the Board of Works for the purpose of reclamation or improvement of land are directed by this Act to be made repayable: Provided always that there shall not be expended by virtue of the authority hereby given a greater sum than two hundred thousand pounds in all, nor a greater sum than one-third part thereof in any single year.”



American Colonization Company is some association, unconnected with either the Government or such public bodies, which would supply information and marginal expenses as a charitable contribution to intending emigrants, and which would have a kind of benevolent supervision over state-aided emigration generally.



## PART II.



## CHAPTER I.

### THE SITUATION.

IRELAND has undergone many revolutions, and has experienced many so-called "settlements ;" but the greatest of all, and different in its nature from all previous revolutions and settlements, is the revolution and settlement projected by Mr. Gladstone, and carried out by his Government in the "Land Law (Ireland) Act" of 1881. To paraphrase Sir Robert Inglis's expression concerning Peel's "Queen's University Act," it is a gigantic scheme of agrarian revolution. It is the first attempt in the course of seven hundred years to re-invest the Irish with the ownership of the soil, after being reduced to the state of farmers, laborers, and turf-cutters, hewers of wood and drawers of water.

English, but more especially Scotch, political economists taught that the Irish small farmers should become day laborers, and declared that it would be more advantageous to the State, and happier for the laborers themselves. No approach was ever made towards creating a body of small landed proprietors, unless when Sir Robert Peel introduced his scheme for five-pound fee-farmers.

They also preached the value of clearances and virtues of large landed estates. Instead of all this, Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1881 has turned every tenant (except leaseholders under existing leases) into tenants in fee farm, even to the occupiers of the meanest one-roomed cabin in the kingdom.

In fact, up to the Land Act of 1870, throughout seven centuries the populace remained ragged and pauperized, mere tenants at will. No one thought of investing them with landed property. The memory of man runneth not to the contrary, that the Irish people have been barred of all estates in land, until the founding of the Land League created a revolution which, with the aid and assistance of an English Government, has undone all previous history and made the common people the lords of Ireland. Never before has so great an alteration in landed property been attempted in these kingdoms, unless after a conquest, and by plantation.

I propose briefly to indicate the origin and trace the history of this last "settlement" of Ireland. It is now two years since I first stated\* my conviction that the roots of the agitations and disturbances which have convulsed Ireland and shaken

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\* "The Irish Agitator." Dublin: Hogdes, Foster, Figgis and Co., 1880. 8vo. "Parnellism Unveiled." Dublin: Hodges, Foster, Figgis and Co., 1880. 8vo.

England were to be found in America. The events of the past twelve months have more than confirmed my original views. But although I had always felt that without Irish-American aid, and that material assistance which always forms the real sinews of business as well as of war, the efforts of Mr. Parnell and his party must have been comparatively feeble, I never completely realized the true feeling of the Irish in America until I had myself moved among them, and in the cities and states of the Union appreciated to the full the existence, three thousand miles away, of a people numerous, comfortable and influential, animated by a spirit of nationality beyond all belief, and impelled to action by a deep-seated hostility to the English Government.

The connection between America and Ireland has, indeed, been more or less close since the very first foundation of the early colonies. But the basis of the present trouble is to be found in the famine and consequent exodus of the Irish in 1848, in the Young Ireland movement, and in the transplantation to America of the ideas of Mitchel, Davis, Doheney, and Lalor. Under present circumstances, therefore, it is most important that this fact should be put forward most prominently, and that the true scope and end of the Land League organization, at home and abroad, be closely understood by the United Kingdom.

## CHAPTER II.

### NATIONAL PROPAGANDA.

IT will be seen hereafter by statistics how vast an accession to the Irish race in America was given by the operation of the famine of 1847-48. Almost simultaneously with the phenomenal exodus of those years came the crash of the Young Ireland party. Their thrilling writings, in prose and verse, were yet ringing in the ears of the tens of thousands who were taking ship for another land. "They are going with a vengeance," said the *Times*, and the expression has been fulfilled in a remarkably sinister manner. Let us, however, first call to mind the principle of that section of the Young Ireland party which has exercised so powerful an effect upon the Irish in America, and through them upon Irish politics at home. O'Connell and that portion of the Young Ireland party which founded the *Nation* newspaper, viz., Smith O'Brien, Dillon, Duffy, and O'Gorman, declared themselves constitutional agitators. The bulk of the National party, says Mr. A. M. Sullivan,\* though swept into insurrection amidst the fever of

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\* "New Ireland," chap. xvii p. 250, New York edition.



'48, held the views expressed in the confederation debate of the 4th of February, 1848. They never based their policy on revolution. It was regarded as a contingency not to be shrunk from if absolutely forced upon them, but one so remote as to be beyond their range of practical concern.

Let me first glance at the division which occurred in 1848 amongst the Irish Nationalists at home. Precisely as the United Irishmen of Grattan's time outstepped his programme and proclaimed themselves ready to die (and did die) for the impossible task of breaking up the British empire, so did the advanced Nationalists of O'Connell's period burst aside from all personal restraint, and avowed themselves separatists from the English connection. The French Revolution of 1848, and the general upheaval throughout Europe in that eventful year, may have had much to say to the swift conversion of Irish Nationalists into Irish revolutionists. John Mitchel's journal, the *United Irishman*, openly preached insurrection. That stern, fanatical Presbyterian was seized, tried, convicted, and transported. Then followed the affair at Ballingarry. State trials succeeded, and men once more paid the penalty of attempting impossibilities. O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus and others were convicted and transported, and large numbers of minor participators left the country.

The result of the abortive insurrection of 1848

was to change the base of Irish revolution from Ireland to America. It was received with open arms by those Irish already settled there, a goodly section of the population, and eagerly espoused by the million and a half emigrants who had contemporaneously left the shores of Ireland. Thus a new nation was formed, whose principal literature was hostile to England, whose heroes and martyrs were either political prisoners or executed felons, and whose every aspiration and hope was at variance with the established order of things in the land which they had left.

The best access we can have to the political creed of the Irish in America is the national literature of 1848. It was this which has kept alive the flame of Irish nationality with such intense fervor at the distance of three thousand miles; and in the journalistic writings of those Young Ireland days are to be found the mainsprings of all the Irish political movements, at home and abroad, which have been carried on since that time, including the entire programme of the Land League.

Some idea of the effect that the National press has had upon Ireland and America may be gathered from the history of the *Nation* newspaper. It gives the key to the influence over the Irish mind which has been exercised by that journal so successfully ever since its foundation, and the keynote to the tone of the whole of the National press up to a

very recent period. About the year 1840, two young men, graduates of Trinity College became connected with a journal called the *Morning Register*. Their names were Thomas Davis and John B. Dillon (father of the present member for Tipperary). The *Register* had been generally ranked among the mercenaries of the Castle, but suddenly all Dublin was startled by the brilliancy and original vigor of its article, especially on one occasion.

When the Whigs retired from office, they rewarded a partisan by commanding Lord Plunket to retire from the Bench in order to make room for Sir John Campbell. The result was a wordy war between parties, and a newspaper tournament among editors. The *Register*, to the general astonishment of all, took up a new line, and Davis in a bold article denounced the appointment as an insult to the country, and vindicated the superiority of the Irish Bar over the adventurers which each ministry in turn promoted. Satisfied by the effect produced by his writings that there was a magnificent opening for a journal such as he had dreamed of for the salvation of his country, Davis and his companion soon broke off their connection with the *Register*, and began to cast about for means to found a paper of their own. A third man appeared on the scene just at this juncture, Charles Gavan Duffy, an old school-fellow and friend of Davis,

who had just thrown up the editorship of the *Belfast Vindicator*, and come to Dublin. He joined eagerly with Davis in the idea, and after an evening's ramble in the Phoenix Park, during which the terms and principles of the paper were canvassed, the publication of the *Nation* was determined upon. The first number of the *Nation* appeared on the 12th of October, 1842, at a time when Ireland was heaving under the agitation of O'Connell, and when the Liberator was entering on the zenith of his popularity. It is difficult now to imagine what a tremendous power was wielded at once by this first creation of a national press. It must be remembered that the men who engaged in the national journalism of '42 were no mere literary hacks toiling their lives away under a commercial proprietorship, with their bodies and souls obedient to a London special wire, praising and blaming according to command. Whatever their political faults and crimes, they had one great recommendation to our sympathy—they were in earnest. They were banded together not for the sake of gain. Their policy was not that of the pocket. The aim of the Young Ireland party was a revolution, and their object the formation of a public opinion strong enough to result in a general rising.

At this time the country was led by a man one of whose first principles was that no political

change was worth shedding a drop of blood, and for a time there was no attempt to put theory into practice. But O'Connell was a lawyer and possessed of strong and hard reasoning powers. It may be imagined what effect upon fiery minds and ardent temperaments the agitation of Catholic emancipation must have had. Apparently, indeed, Ireland was on the verge of revolution. The whole people moved like a regular army, and acted with extraordinary obedience to the commands of this one man. We are told they were accustomed to assemble in every part of the country on the same day, and that scarcely an adult Catholic abstained from the movement.

No wonder, then, with this before their eyes, and the still more marvelous success of the Repeal agitation, that the founders of the *Nation* were filled with wild hopes for the ultimate separation of Ireland from England. Indeed, the state of society for ten years previous to 1842 was in itself sufficient to buoy up the hopes of the revolutionists. Agrarian murders and tithe riots, the burning of houses and the mutilation of cattle, were of daily occurrence. The country was honeycombed with secret societies, and in many parts of Ireland law was at a discount, and class warfare and sectarian bitterness held supreme sway. To crown all, the most coercive Coercion Act ever inflicted upon a recalcitrant country was

put into force, and not only directed against crime but against political agitation. In fact, martial law for some time supplanted the British constitution. Laboring under these throes, it is hardly to be wondered at that Young Ireland conceived and brought forth the National press.

It has been said that to make the priests the rulers of the country and himself the ruler of the priests, was O'Connell's great object throughout his career as an agitator. The object of the editors of the *Nation*, after they found that O'Connell would never adopt any but constitutional measures to gain repeal, was to counteract the influence he held over the people, and to oppose it with all the forces of their brilliant literary and intellectual armory—and no mean weapons did that armory contain: the spell of Thomas Davis's extraordinary poetic love and genius, the fiery force of Gavan Duffy, the brusque, hate-inspiring vigor of John Mitchel, the oratory of Thomas Francis Meagher, the scholarship of McGee and McNevin, and the honest fervor of John Martin and William Smith O'Brien. Here was indeed a circle of genius, and around it was grouped a host of friends who gave freely all they had of worldly and intellectual goods for the sake of a cause, perhaps the most desperate ever undertaken.

Such were the times, and such were the men. The press which was the result of the times and

the men had one great and peculiar characteristic ; and it contains in it the key to its past power and its present popularity. This peculiarity was the raising again of the question of nationality. It may be that the publication of Thierry's "Conquest of England by the Normans," appearing as that work did at a time when the Irish people were struggling under O'Connell for a recognition of race, as opposed to religion, may have had considerable influence on the minds of revolutionary Irishmen. Thierry's grand thesis, given in the first sentence of his introduction, is the diversity of the races of men, and its effect upon history. "It were falsifying history," he says, "to introduce into it a philosophical contempt for every departure from the uniformity of existing civilization, and to consider those nations as alone worthy of honorable mention, to whose names the chance of events has attached for the present and the future the idea of that civilization." Again, Thierry said, "The sword of conquest, while changing the face of Europe and the distribution of its inhabitants into distinct nations, has left its original features to each nation, created by the mixture of several races."

Unlike other historians who preceded him, Thierry constituted himself the historian rather of the conquered than of the conquerors; he traced out the existence of nations at different periods,



giving them their true position, color, and significance, and is, in fact, the author of the modern disturbance of Europe by the question of nationalities, which he first brought into prominent view. In his view of Ireland he has construed the history of the Irish race in a manner as national as the most enthusiastic "Nationalist" can desire. It is from him undoubtedly that the cry of Celt and Saxon was first derived, and a jealousy set on foot which bids fair to grow more bitter as years advance. Thierry maintained that a people are not so quickly subjugated as would seem to be intimidated by the official acts of those who govern by the right of force, and he pointed to Greece, then arising from her ashes, to prove that it is a strange mistake to consider the history of kings, or even of conquering nations, as that of the country over which they hold dominion.

This was, in fact, the note of nationality which the journalists of 1842 struck with so strong a hand. They adopted that idea of the Celt with a recognition of its truth and usefulness in a war against the conquering Saxon. They felt within them that patriotic regret which Thierry maintains lies deep in the breasts of men long after all hope for the old cause of the country has expired, a feeling which, when it has no longer the power to create armies, still creates bands of partisans and political brigands, and causes such of them as



die on the gibbet to be venerated as martyrs. I can recall no utterance of the Young Ireland party which has in it so audibly the note of nationality as the concluding words of John Martin in his speech after his conviction for treason-felony, as editor of the *Irish Felon*, August, 1848.

“My object,” he said, “in all my proceedings has been simply to establish the independence of Ireland for the benefit of all the people of Ireland—noblemen, clergymen, judges, professional men—in fact, all Irishmen. I sought that object first, because I thought it was our right; because I thought, and still think, national independence was the right of the people of this country. And secondly, I admit that being a man who loves retirement, I never would have engaged in politics did I not think it necessary to do all in my power to make an end of the horrible scenes the country presents—the pauperism and the starvation, and the crime and the vice, and the hatred of all classes against each other. I thought there should be an end to that horrible system which, while it lasted, gave me no peace of mind; for I could not enjoy anything in my country so long as I saw my countrymen forced to be vicious, forced to hate each other, and degraded to the level of paupers and brutes. This is the reason I engaged in politics.”

Here is Thierry's idea of race and nationality

fully expressed by one of the leaders of the Young Ireland party, and it was that idea which pervaded the whole of the National press of 1842. It was the dream of Davis to educate the people of Ireland into an acknowledgment of this race characteristic. It was his object in all his writings, prose and verse, to fire the spark of nationality in the breast of each Irishman, and the publication of the *Nation* certainly effected this object in a marvelous degree.

Then followed John Mitchel's journal, the *United Irishman*, which was suppressed; next, the *Irish Felon*; then, at various times and periods, other newspapers of similar tone and tendencies. These have been the classics of the Irish race in America. The feeling of affection and devotion which the Irish-American feels for Ireland is of the most romantic kind. He gives money to prove its intensity, and no amount of chicanery or opposition can alter the feelings which animate his political action. He is republican in sentiment, democratic in ideas, and bitterly opposed to the aristocratic institutions of an English Government. The submarine telegraph cable has introduced a new era in politics, and the exiles of 1848, cut off from intercourse with their native country, are represented now by a new generation, intimately acquainted and deeply interested in the affairs of Ireland.

## CHAPTER III.

### IRISH-AMERICAN REPUBLICANISM.

BETWEEN 1849 and 1852 was enacted yet another scene in the political drama of Ireland. Insurrection had been crushed. But the cry for tenant right survived, and found expression in Ulster first, and finally throughout the remaining provinces by means of the "Irish Tenant League." In February, 1852, it was at the height of its power, and at the general election in the spring of that year were returned fifty tenant-right members to Parliament, amongst them Charles Gavan Duffy and Frederick Lucas. But the triumph of the new Irish party was brief. The acceptance of Government office by Mr. Keogh and the ruin and suicide of John Sadlier broke up the new National coalition, and "The Brass Band" soon became a byword amongst Irish politicians. In the words of Mr. A. M. Sullivan, { "Repeal was buried. Disaffection had disappeared. Nationality was unmentioned. Not a shout was raised. Not even a village tenant-right club survived. The people no longer interested themselves in politics. } Who went into or who went out of Parliament con-

cerned them not. The 'agitator's' voice was heard no more. All was silence—rest and peace, some called it; sullen indifference and moody despair, others judged it to be."

It was just the time for a conspirator to commence anew revolutionary schemes. Distrust of agitators, the collapse of the tenant-right movement, the treachery of the "Brass Band" had given the populace a shock which it took them some years to recover. But with the re-awakening of the feeling of nationality came the moment for the revolutionist. During the years of inaction, the people had drunk deep of the literature of Young Ireland, they had imbibed heartily the principles of John Mitchel. The young men were ripe for the hand of the organizer, and their future course of action depended on the impulse then given; and it so happened that there was a man ready for the work, deeply implicated in the abortive rebellion of 1848, and ready to throw himself heart and soul into any project of disaffection.

This was James Stephens, son and clerk of a poor broker in Kilkenny. On whatever evidence Mr. John Rutherford has founded his "Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy,"\* I have very good authority for saying that his account tallies

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\* "The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy." 2 vols. 8vo. C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1877.

closely with all the private information supplied to the Government upon the whole subject. I see no reason for refusing to believe his account of Mr. James Stephens's early propaganda of the principles of Fenianism, more especially as it is in keeping with all we have since learnt of the methods of organization at home and abroad adopted by his more modern imitators. Stephens had escaped with Michael Doheney from Ballingarry in 1848, and had, after remarkable adventures,\* got clear out of the United Kingdom. Doheney went to New York, Stephens to Paris.

Here he became a professional conspirator, and learned the science of continental organization, hoping by becoming enrolled amongst the secret societies to obtain aid when he had matured his design of revolutionizing Ireland. During all this period of continental apprenticeship, Stephens was associated with John O'Mahony, yet another of those who had been "out" in the Ballingarry business, a man of good family and cultured tastes. It was to him that Stephens owed all the support which ultimately came to Fenianism from America. O'Mahony insisted that whatever effort was to be made by the Irish against the English Government could not succeed without the aid of the Irish in America, and to him was confided the task of

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\* See "The Felon's Track," by M. Doheney. Cameron and Ferguson, Glasgow and London.

organizing the Transatlantic Irish. Thus the first programme of the new Irish Revolution was arranged. Stephens returned to Ireland in 1853, and O'Mahony departed for America, where Doheney had been already at work ventilating the ideas which afterwards developed into Fenianism.

In company with Thomas Clarke Lulbey, lately arrived from Australia, Stephen made a tour of Ireland in 1853, preparatory to making any efforts to commence operations. His journey of observation gave him plenty of food for reflection. The native Irish population—in other words, the peasantry—offered a fine opportunity for an organizer. O'Connell's prolonged agitations had kept alive all the old memories of English oppression and injustice, and fomented sectarian strife and bitterness. The national aspirations, passions, and sentiments inculcated by the Young Ireland republicans were still burning in every peasant's cabin and farmer's dwelling. Peasant conspiracies had for a century spread their network over each province, and this agrarian combination alone, properly utilized, could be turned to good account by a man of tact and daring. In fact, hatred of England, the sense of defeat, the desire for vengeance, the brooding over sentimental wrongs, and the more open efforts of public agitators had already organized Ireland in the rough, before even James Stephens came to take up the

materials ready to his hand. Hitherto the commonalty of Ireland had been led by men of culture and position. Stephens took the first step to change all that. He was for a social and democratic revolution, such as Paris only could afford.

There were in Ireland two classes, the educated and the uneducated. The former, by associations and by position, were outside his sphere of operations. But in the populace he found to his hand good material, credulous, easily led, and disgusted at the moment with their natural leaders by the treachery of the "Brass Band." From beginning to end, Stephens labored to form a democratic revolution. There was no mental culture or intellectual refinement to be found in the ranks of his numerous converts, and in this the movement which resulted in the Irish Republican Brotherhood differed essentially from that of 1848, while it afforded a ready model for the Land League of 1879.

Meanwhile O'Mahony had arrived in America, and had begun to organize the Irish race there. He found good material ready. Ribbonism had found its way across the Atlantic, and its lodges were found to be favorable to the new schemes of revolution. The militia system of the United States was another useful organization ready made. Exclusive Irish battalions had been formed by the refugees of Ireland in 1848, in order that



the Irish in America should be prepared to take advantage of any European troubles which might prepare England's "difficulty" and afford Ireland her "opportunity." But the efforts of O'Mahony were not successful in obtaining unity of purpose. The new association of revolutionary Irishmen was called by various names, and for five years the conspiracy was kept going, until O'Mahony's ill-success brought over Stephens to the United States in 1858. He at once aroused the enthusiasm of the Irish masses. Money flowed in, and the plot was remodelled and renamed again under the title of the "Fenian Brotherhood," and when Stephens departed, he left the American branch of the conspiracy in flourishing condition.

It only required a man of ability to accomplish this. Without having had personal experience of the feelings of Irish-Americans with regard to the land of their nativity, it is hard to realize the intensity of their romantic national sentiment. I have met men of the second generation, sons of Irish parents, American in voice and appearance, who have never set foot on Irish soil, with as ardent an affection for Ireland as the most National native-born inhabitant of Cork, the very capital of Irish nationality. I have already mentioned the influence of the Irish National press upon the sentiments of the Irish.



The strength and extent of the mixed sentiments were, as we may well imagine, solidified and widened by the exodus of the decade 1841-1851. The Irish census of 1851 showed a diminution of near 2,000,000 in the population of Ireland in the preceding ten years. In the years 1841 to 1850 inclusive the British emigration to America was 1,522,600 persons, of which certainly 1,300,000 were Irish.\* Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, † a well-known Boston statistician, calculates that from 1820 to 1879 inclusive the number of Irish emigrants was 3,065,761. "Ireland," says that gentleman in his paper on immigration, "has been our chief source in the past, and during the last forty years has contributed nearly three millions to the population of the United States. During 1847 to 1854 inclusive, the arrivals from Ireland averaged 150,000 per annum" (see also Youngs' "Labor in Europe and America").

Such an immense transfer of people from one climate, government, and state of society to another, different wholly in character, was indeed one of the most remarkable social phenomena of the age. Its treatment by the English press was indignantly resented by the emigrant Irish themselves, and by their countrymen in America, and, read by the light of modern events, there can be

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\* Dr. E. E. Hale's "Letters on Irish Emigration." Boston, 1852.

† Paper on Immigration. Boston, 1879.

little doubt that the tone of such journals as the *Times* and *Saturday Review* in their treatment of Irish subjects was well calculated to excite the indignation of the principal actors in the heart-rending exodus of those days.\*

For the leader writer of a paper to look at the "long agony of Ireland's misfortunes" as a naturalist would upon an operation of Nature, was entirely philosophical, and for Government to expedite that operation was, no doubt, a pleasing task. But we can hardly be surprised that, after the sufferings of the people under the teachings of John Mitchel and his followers, the emigrant Irish should look upon their own dispersion as anything but a philosophical or pleasing matter. Nay, that they should carry with them the undying seeds of enmity against the country whose press treated them so scornfully and cruelly in their trouble and exile is but natural, and that they should transmit that enmity to their offspring is almost a matter of necessity. To them the "*Deus nobis hæc otio fecit*" of the *Times*, this thanking of Heaven for the relief that England felt, was the knell of home life in Ireland. And for an Englishman to quote the motto, comfortably seated at home, was, no doubt, translated by the Irish in America as a pæan on the Providence which

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\* See *Times*, September 14, 1853. *Spectator*, January 5, 1847; *Saturday Review*, December 1, 1863.

slew millions of the pauper Irish and banished the rest.

In the Fenian days, too, the London press intensified the vindictive Irish-American hostility to England. "The departing demons of assassination;" "The rush of departing marauders whose lives were profitably occupied in shooting Protestants from behind a hedge;" Ireland "has no snakes or vermin except among its peasantry and clergy"—these are expressions which have rankled deeper than Coercion Acts and sentences of transportation. The "departing marauder" is also comforted for his departure in this manner: "Just as the Red Man and the Bushman and the Maori melt away before the sure and certain advance of the superior race, so will the worse elements of Irish humanity yield to the nobler and civilizing elements now at work in Ireland;" "Ireland is boiling over, and the scum flows across the Atlantic." Such language, it is perhaps needless to state, had its effect, none the less sure that it was at the time unseen and unappreciated. The "scum" and the children of the "scum" have treasured up these memories, and in the dollars of the American Land League are to be recognized the avenging hands of a reckless and unsympathizing press.

The influence of the American political system, too, upon the Irishman rendered Stephen's efforts

easy. Numerically speaking, the Irish have long been the most important factor of the foreign nationalities settled in the United States. From a political point of view they have been at all times a very important factor. Identified with the Democratic party since the commencement of the century from feelings of gratitude for the part taken by the Democrats in the question of naturalization, the Irish have so far faithfully adhered to its old allies. Accordingly, as new emigrants landed in the States, they adopted the same political creed, though probably with less logical reason. Ever desirous of perpetuating their political animosity to English aristocratic institutions, and of emphasizing it by some overt act on American soil, they have always espoused that party whose principles profess to be the most radically opposed to the English political system. The very name of Democrat was in itself peculiarly grateful to the newcomer, and finding friends around him imbued with "Democratic" principles, he threw himself at once into the arms of the Democrats with all the fervor of a political convert.

But, apart from mere party politics, the effect of American institutions generally upon the Irish settlers has been very great. Beyond all other nationalities, from the moment of their arrival, they adopted with ardor all the principles of American republicanism. They revelled in "liberty, frater-

nity, and equality." They found themselves suddenly in a land where "caste" is comparatively unknown, and where all men are supposed at least to be equal. Assimilating rapidly with the thought, and by the influences of their surroundings, the Irish began to look back upon their old life and position in Ireland with distaste. The only tangible and constant idea present came to be one of hatred and abhorrence of that system of government which they were sedulously taught to believe was the fountain of all their woes, real and imaginary, and which, in fact, was the exact converse of the method of government in the land of their adoption.

But deeper than all these reasons for animosity to England lay yet another, which touched to the quick that most vulnerable of all points in the Irishman's character—his national pride. Until he left his own country, he never discovered that in every quarter of the globe, more or less, but particularly in America, the Irish race, as a whole was looked down upon, despised, slighted. Individual Irishmen throughout the whole world have been honored and admired. But the peasant Irish have ever been contemned. Without leaders, without any natural aristocracy, without wealth, the Irish were thrown on the shores of America, and fell at once to the lowest scale of the social ladder. As every year rolls by, the

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class of educated Irishmen in the United States grows larger and more respected. But the prejudice against the race has and does exist. This terrible debt the Irishman in America has placed to the account of England. This grudge is the deepest of all. And when all material grievances have been redressed, this remains.<sup>11</sup> They think, What might not Irishmen have been under proper treatment and good government, instead of the despised and rejected of nations?

With such material to work upon, and with able leaders and writers to assist him, it is not to be wondered at if James Stephens succeeded in laying, once and for all, a deep foundation for Irish revolution in America. He himself was a thorough Republican of the French type. He found millions of artisans and laborers of his own race eager to listen and assist him in his new schemes, already thoroughly impregnated with the principle of democracy, and without any other idea of being able to benefit their native country than by doing all that in them lay to secure for Ireland the benefit of that republicanism which they enjoyed in the United States. How successfully the Fenian organizer laid the seeds of Irish republicanism is best appreciated by the remarkable fruits which his now forgotten labors have brought forth.

Some species of national independence for Ireland has ever been the keynote of the political

creed of the Irish in America. Their leaders speak, and have ever spoken, in the same strain. "Our independence," said an early revolutionist,\* must be had at all hazards. If the men of property will not support us, they must fall; we can support ourselves by the aid of that numerous and respectable class of the community, the men of no property." The words are curiously descriptive of the events of the past two years in Ireland. The aims and ideas of the most advanced Irish Nationalist, such as Mitchel and Stephens, point simply to the repeal not only of the Union, but to the reversal of the conquest of Ireland, and the tide-stream of Irish republicanism to the shores of Ireland has flooded with revolutionary thought the minds of the Irish masses at home.

It is easy to trace in the programme of Fenianism the selfsame features which have been so recently visible in the Land League organization. The general aims of the organization, as stated by Rutherford, are as follows:—To deprive all proprietors not siding with them of their estates, to confiscate Church lands, and to establish new relations between landlord and tenant, on the principles established in Prussia by Von Stein and Hardenburg, giving to each peasant who was a member of the Brotherhood the power of purchasing his farm at a price to be determined by a com-

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\* Wolf Tone.



mission. Out of the confiscations, estimated to amount to eight-ninths of the surface of the whole island, was to be formed a national property, which was afterwards to be sold to the profit of the State, in order to manufacture a large class of peasant proprietors, similar to that of France. Equality of rights of inheritance was to be established in families, and all titles of nobility were to be suppressed.

The political institutions were to take a thoroughly republican shape. There was to be a Parliament or Congress, with a purely Irish title, of which a third part was to be elected annually by universal suffrage. Province prejudices were to be humored by giving each province a council of its own, and an executive to manage its own affairs. New laws were to be enacted in harmony with the new state of things.

All religions were to be tolerated, but none was to be allowed supremacy. The poorest, in fact, was to be in all cases restricted to the exercise of his purely ecclesiastical duties. Stephens also meant to secularize education, to deprive religious bodies of their property, to take the education of the clergy into the hands of the State, and to make them far as possible State officers, by paying them fixed stipends out of the national treasury. Such were the designs and intentions of the leaders of the Fenian movement. They bear upon



them the impress of American and French ideas, and as such were doubly attractive to the Irish in America.

The anti-ecclesiastical feeling is most significant. Since 1860 to the present moment the effect of American ideas has been everywhere to break down the political power of the priest. The leaders of the Fenian organization were particularly bitter against Romish influence. In Stephens's set of general rules for the guidance of his lieutenants is the following:—"Waste no time in attempting to gain the priests. Their one idea is—the good of Mother Church. Let the Revolution only succeed; Mother Church always knows how to adapt herself to accomplished facts. Besides, no priest is a free agent."

The events of the past year are a striking confirmation of the Fenian rule. They were, however, but the full outcome of that quiet propaganda of republican principles which gave its first indications of power in the candidature of John Martin, in 1869, for Longford, in opposition to the priests' nominee, Mr. Greville Nugent, and in the election of a Protestant Home Ruler, Mr. Blennerhasset, for Kerry in 1872, in opposition to the priests' candidate, Mr. James Arthur Dease, a Catholic. This anti-clerical sentiment was abroad amongst the Irish in America as early as 1849. When Michael Doheney landed in America after

escaping from Ireland, he found, as might be expected, much excitement upon the whole Irish political situation. Upon the part taken by the Catholic clergy in the movement of 1848, he says, in the preface to "The Felon's Track," "On my arrival in America, I found a fierce contest agitating, dividing, and enfeebling the Irish-American population. It was asserted on one side that the entire failure was attributable to the Catholic priests, and that, in opposing the liberation of Ireland, they acted in accordance with some recognized radical privileges of the Church."

I have also heard it stated that Thomas Francis Meagher was very strong upon confining the priest to his ecclesiastical functions. "If the altar were to stand," he said, "between a man and his liberty, I should say down with the altar." It is evident, therefore, the latent distrust of the priest as a political factor in Ireland was fully felt and fostered by many of the '48 men, while the Fenian leaders' mistrust and dislike of ecclesiastical interference in national matters was, no doubt, the reason of the active part taken against them in the very crisis of their conspiracy by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND FENIANISM.

THE long life-quarrel between the North and South, after whole decades of discussion, at last came to a climax when southern guns fired in April, 1861, upon Fort Sumter. The sword, after all, was to be the arbiter between slave-owner and abolitionist. Throughout the northern states the Irish population at once declared for the Union, and it is computed that in the Federal armies alone there were 170,000 Irishmen enrolled. In that protracted and unparalleled conflict the Irish race proved once again their aptitude for war, and their personal valor on the field of battle. First in Spain, then in France after the battle of Boyne, and the surrender of Limerick, the Irish soldiers have played an important part in the military history of Europe. Their turn now came to uphold again in another hemisphere the reputation of which they have at all times been jealous; and on the bloody fields of Virginia, in the cotton fields of Georgia, and among the Carolina swamps lie the bones of many an Irish soldier who fought for the Stars and Stripes. It

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is not however, within the province of these pages to describe the military exploits of the Irish soldiers in the War of Rebellion.\* That has been done elsewhere† by capable hands; and no Irishman can help feeling proud on reading the glorious military record of his race in America. A few words, however, are necessary to indicate how great were the inducements for Irishmen to enter the army.‡ First, there was the generous feeling of gratitude to the country that had received

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\* "To the Irish division commanded by General Meagher was principally committed the desperate task of bursting out of the town of Fredericksburg, and forming under the withering fire of the Confederate batteries, to attack Marye's Heights, lowering immediately in their front. Never at Fontenoy, at Albuera, or at Waterloo, was more undoubted courage displayed by the sons of Erin, than during those six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe. . . . The bodies which lie in dense masses within forty yards of the muzzles of Colonel Walton's guns are the best evidence of what manner of men they were who pressed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained glory on a thousand battlefields, and never more richly deserved than at the foot of Marye's Heights on 13th December, 1862."—*Times* special correspondent, Hon. Francis Lawley.

See also "War Pictures from the South," by B. Estvan, London: Routledge and Co., 1863.

† "Life of Brigadier-General Meagher," by Captain Lyons. Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson. 8vo.

"The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns," by Captain D. O. Conyngham, A.D.C. Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson. 8vo.

‡ "The immense arrivals of Irish astonish those who are not in the secret. Their passages are paid by the United States Government, and will be charged to the enlistment expenses. The sum appropriated for this purpose is \$3,000,000, and it is estimated that it will bring over to this country 120,000 Irish persons. Of this number it may be safely estimated one-half that will cost only \$50 each for sixty thousand, and in any other shape it costs the United States \$100 per soldier.—"Manhattan," letter to *Daily Telegraph*, May 9, 1863.

them into her bosom; and many for this reason gave up lucrative positions and sacrificed their interests to their patriotism. Then there was the natural feeling of excitement which leads a fiery and impetuous people to enlist in any great popular movement; and, finally, strongest of all was the desire to learn the use of arms and the science and art of war, with the hope of turning them at some future day to practical service in the cause of their native land.\* The Fenian Brotherhood

“Some shiploads of emigrants, having arrived in 1862 from the Green Isle most of them utterly destitute, were beset on landing by the recruiting officers with promises of \$100 from the Federal Government, \$50 from the State of New York, and \$50 from the Common Council of the city. Bewildered and dazzled at the prospect of such enormous wealth, they marched direct from the emigration depot, to the recruiting office, and became soldiers of the Union before they had been twenty-four hours in the country.”—*Irish Times*.

\* Some idea of the feeling which inspired the Irish-American soldiers in their national character as Irishmen may be found in the fugitive literature of the period, of which I found a good example in the British Museum library. It runs as follows:—

“St. LAWRENCE O'TOOLE'S LITANY.

“*De Profundis Clamavi.*

“O most patriotic and venerable O'Toole, who didst innocently and without guile transmit to thy unworthy successor the livery of heaven to be defiled by serving two masters, to thee we turn in our affliction, of thee we implore that inspiration of love for the Old Land, which thou didst, while Archbishop of Dublin, endeavor by word and deed to infuse into the Irish heart in repelling the Anglo-Norman with all his works and pomps. Explain to my once anti-Irish master, Adrian, the sad consequence of his bull in our land, which, through his kind but unsolicited exertions in benefiting the soul, has brought unremitting pain and misery on the body.

“Call to thy aid, O most liberty-loving O'Toole, those Christian auxiliaries of power and glory—the soul-inspiring cannon, the meek and faithful musket, the pious rifle, and the conscience-examining pike, which, tempered by a martyr's faith and Fenian's hope and a rebel's

Fenian  
CW

1)  
learn  
with  
you

all  
p. 143

made full use of its opportunities. In the large cities militia regiments, exclusively composed of Irish, had been formed before the war, and a remarkable illustration of the spirit of these regiments was given during the visit of the Prince of

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charity, will triumph over the devil and restore to us our own, and only our own, in our own land, for ever and ever. Amen.

O'Toole, hear us.

O'Toole, attentively hear us.

From English civilization,  
 From British law and order,  
 From Anglo-Saxon cant and freedom,  
 From the Guelphs and other Philistines,  
 From the best of the English queens,  
 From the Lion's mouth,  
 From "Rule Britannia,"  
 From the cloven hoof,  
 From the necessity of annual rebellion,  
 From billeted soldiery,  
 From anti-Irish Irishmen,  
 From landlord absenteeism,  
 From extension of the Castle lease,  
 From the mockery of further petitions,  
 From a pious Church establishment,  
 From the payment of tithes,  
 From sackcloth and ashes,  
 From fasting on feast days,  
 From the patience of Job,  
 From the slavery of praying for crowned heads,  
 From all other hypocrisies,  
 From internal discord,  
 From royal anniversaries,  
 From loyal banquet speeches,  
 From mock trials,  
 From artificial gallowses,  
 From natural hangmen,  
 From a living death,  
 From untenanted graves,  
 From salvation from the cross of St. George,  
 From the curse of Cromwell,  
 From all things purely English,

O'Toole,  
 deliver us.

Wales to the United States in 1860. An order was given for the New York militia regiments to parade in honor of the royal visitor. Colonel Corcoran refused to parade his regiment, saying that, as an Irishman, he could not consistently

By the wearing of the Green,  
By the Grave of Emmett,  
By our Irish martyrology,  
By the massacre of Drogheda,  
By the memory of Penal Law,  
By the broken treaty of Limerick,  
By the old rebel Pike,  
By the waving sunburst,  
By the immortal shamrock,  
By the sprig of fern,  
By the bayonet charge,  
By the Irish hurrah,

} We beseech thee to hear  
us, O'Toole.

Through Cin of the hundred battles,  
Through the old Ajax of Clontauf,  
Through O'Neil of the Red Hand,  
Through the spirit of Lord Edward,  
Through the patriotic Sarsfield,  
Through Ireland's unwritten history,  
Through the Celtic tongue,  
Through the magic pen of Davis,  
Through the memory of '98,  
Through the Fenian Brotherhood,

} Grant us victory,  
O'Toole.

Bayonet charge on them,  
Musket hail on them,  
Sword slay them,  
Pike transfix them,

} O'Toole.

Fire and smoke,  
Torch of rebellion,  
Vengeance of Seven Centuries,

} Bring dismay unto the enemy,  
O'Toole.

Fenianism, the salvation of our race,  
Record it above, O'Toole.

Fenianism to be stamped out like the cattle plague,  
We will prove them false prophets, O'Toole.



parade Irish-born citizens in honor of the son of a sovereign under whose rule Ireland was left a desert, and her best sons exiled or banished. This most inveterate foe of England had been born in Sligo, and had been in the Irish constabulary force for three years before he emigrated. He was brought to a court-martial for this refusal to parade, but the outbreak of the war and the refusal of his men, all Fenians, to march without him caused the proceedings to be dissolved.

A paragraph in a sketch of the constitution of the Fenian Brotherhood, drawn up by Halpin, gives some idea of the extent to which Fenianism pervaded the officers and men of the United

Ireland reduced to obedience,  
 Ireland loyal to the Crown,  
 Ireland a country of West Britons,  
 Ireland pacified with concessions,  
 Ireland to recruit the British army,  
 Ireland too holy to fight,  
 Ireland not united in effort,

} It is a falsehood, O'Toole.

Ireland to be free, prosperous, and happy,  
 As sure as you are heaven, O'Toole.

Ireland to be a paradise of religious toleration,  
 Pray for it, O'Toole.

Ireland never to be dragged at the tail of any nation,  
 Proclaim it on high, O'Toole.

"O'Toole, thou who still lovest the land of thy nativity, look down upon the coming struggle with favor and approval. Inspire the old race once more with patriotic devotion, and give strength to sunder the chains of the oppressed. The sprig of fern and the shamrock look heavenward from their lowly beds. The prophecies are being fulfilled; the sons of Erin of the seas are preparing for the dawn. Give to the long-looked-for day a glorious sunset—victory for the Gael with the green above the red. God save the green. Amen."



States army. "Of the contributions," he says, "in officers and men made by the Fenians to the United States armies, we can only call attention to a few of the more prominent examples of regiments sent from New York. Nearly all the officers of General T. F. Meagher's original and famous Irish Brigade, as also the Corcoran Legion, were famous. Colonel McIver, of the 170th New York Volunteers, belongs to the order, as does also General Gleeson of the 63rd, formerly of the Pope's Foreign Legion service in Italy. In the Corcoran Legion alone in 1862 twenty-four Fenian officers were killed or disabled. The 164th New York was originally raised and officered by Fenians, who had graduated in the 99th New York State Militia, otherwise called the Phoenix or Fenian Regiment, a regiment which educated and sent into the army three full sets of officers, together with 1,200 rank and file. In Connecticut one whole Fenian circle of about two hundred volunteered unanimously; but as their state quota was full, they went off in the 10th Ohio Infantry. Two-thirds of the 9th Massachusetts Infantry were Fenians. The Douglas Brigade of Illinois, chiefly raised in Chicago, was in great part Fenian, as was the brigade raised by the late Colonel Mulligan, who was high in the order. In the Excelsior Brigade a large proportion of the officers were Fenians; and the 42nd New York

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to the  
164th  
10th  
9th  
Douglas  
Brigade  
42nd

was chiefly organized by Colonel Michael Dohe-  
ney, one of the original founders of the Fenian  
Brotherhood.

General Thomas Francis Meagher, the organi-  
zer of the Irish Brigade, was by far the most  
important figure in the ranks of the Irish-Ameri-  
can soldiers. Born in the city of Waterford in  
1823, the son of a Catholic merchant and member  
of Parliament, Meagher returned from collegiate  
life in England at a time when the Repeal move-  
ment of O'Connell was on the very eve of its  
overthrow, and by his impassioned invocation to  
the sword, in opposition to O'Connell's doctrine  
of moral force, fixed his fame forever as the fore-  
most orator of the Young Ireland party.

Meagher appeared in arms with Smith O'Brien,  
and, after O'Brien's attempt at Ballingarry had  
failed, was tried for high treason at Clonmel, and  
condemned to death; but the sentence was com-  
muted to transportation for life. In the spring of  
1852 he made his escape from Van Diemen's Land,  
and landed in New York, where he soon became  
distinguished as a lecturer and lawyer. Meagher  
himself never became a Fenian. Indeed, the atti-  
tude of the '48 men towards Fenianism was al-  
ways one of disdain. They looked upon Stephens  
and his centres as plebeian upstarts, deeply tinged  
with atheistic and socialistic sentiments, unworthy  
to head or initiate a national movement. From

the very commencement of Stephens's conspiracy John Mitchel and Meagher had opposed the idea. They were prejudiced against Stephens, and could not believe that where highly educated gentlemen had so completely failed, under more trying and dangerous circumstances, a low-born conspirator could succeed. That Stephens was not so contemptible a person as was then thought, Mitchel himself sufficiently proved when he joined the Fenian Brotherhood some years later, and acted for a time as its chief agent in Paris. Meagher, though not avowedly a member of the Brotherhood, favored it in many ways, and principally by taking command of the Irish Brigade, which was Fenian to a man, and which is said to have supplied nearly all the adventurers who became notorious in Ireland in 1865-1867.

Full advantage was taken of the war, and the enthusiasm created by it, by the Fenian leaders to turn their rank and file into soldiers. But this was not their only purpose. A more remote, but in their view far more important, object was to purchase the favor of the northern statesmen who were conducting the war, and to contribute, if possible, some cause for a war with England. There can be no doubt that the Fenians received much encouragement from many civil and military servants of the northern states. There was an understanding, feigned or sound, between the head

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centre, O'Mahony, and certain authorities, and it had a potent influence on recruiting. The question of Irish naturalization in America, and its power to dissolve the tie of allegiance, was considered almost a sure pretext by which England could be involved in an armed conflict with America.

The Fenians looked with breathless interest for the outburst, and it seemed to have arrived when a northern admiral, Wilkes, stopped a British mail steamer and forcibly took from its deck the two Confederate ambassadors, Mason and Slidell, when Lord Palmerston had sent out an army to Canada, and at the same time made a peremptory demand for the restoration of the Confederate envoys. The Fenians at home and abroad made good use of the incident, but their hopes were not destined to be realized, and no actual break occurred in the amicable relations of England and America.

The Civil War in America ended in July, 1865, and thus a mass of furious Irish, inured to war, finding their occupation gone, and bearing the hatred of enforced exiles to the English, as authors, in their opinion, of the famine which drove them from their country, returned in numerous small parties to Ireland during the year 1866. They were all this time organizing insurrection under the orders of the Fenian leaders at New York and Dublin, and a general rising was arranged for the

5th of March, 1867. The commander-in-chief selected at New York was General Cluseret, a Frenchman naturalized in America, a member of the revolutionary clubs of France, Italy, and Germany, and an able soldier. He served both in the French and American armies. Next under him was Colonel Godfrey Massey, made lieutenant-general of the Fenian forces.

Cluseret came over, but his practised intelligence showed him at a glance that the Fenian army was, to a great extent, imaginary; and further, that the Irish, so swayed by the priesthood, were not materials for a revolution, being, if bad subjects, only worse rebels. Cluseret instantaneously retired to seek fresh fields and pastures new, and turned up next as leader of a successful rising of the Reds of Marseilles in the days of the Commune. Thence he came to Paris and was made Minister of War by the Communists, and on the 19th of April, 1871, signed the decree for the pulling down of the Column of the Place Vendome, superintended the demolition on the 16th of May, and pronounced the oration over its ruins. It was to mark, said General Cluseret, the end of those feudal and ancient ideas which made the deeds of soldiers and warriors the most glorious in the world's eye. Henceforth, labor was to take the place of valor; work was to be superior to war, and the sword was to yield the place of honor to

the shuttle and the spade. His speech was almost in the very words of Prince Albert on opening the Great Exhibition of London in 1851, curious preludes, both speeches, to the events which have intervened. At the fall of the Commune, Cluseret left Paris by the "underground railway,"\* leaving his friends to die by the military executioners. It will be well if he is not heard of again.

Lieutenant-General Godfrey Massey, a young man of five and twenty, left America, under the orders of the same committee, about the same time as Cluseret. An Irishman (his original name being Patrick Condon), he served in the Texas Hussars, part of the cavalry of the Southern Confederates, of which he was made colonel. He had been lately married, and he sent over his bride before him to Liverpool, preliminary to taking the field. Rejoining her there, he passed through Dublin to Cork, and on the night of the 4th of March left Cork for the Limerick junction, having orders to collect his men and mass them, and await the arrival of the commander-in-chief, General Cluseret.

But an information party, Corydon, had prepared the Government; and General Massey, on his arrival at midnight at the appointed spot, found himself in the arms of Sir Henry Brown-

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\* The expression of the Americans to describe the unaccountable means whereby the negro slaves escaped from the South to the North.

rigg, director-general of the Irish constabulary, and a vast body of military police. He swooned, was carried off prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, and after some confinement was induced by his young wife — admitted to him with this design — to save himself, — live for her and give evidence against his comrades.

So ended the Irish Revolution of March 5, 1867. It was a most absolute fiasco, the result of a systematic delusion, projected upon the basis of an insurrection in Ireland at a time when England was at peace, assisted by forces and arms from America contrary to the laws of the United States. From the very first the people in Ireland were deluded with the idea that the Irish in America were in fact, an *imperium in imperio* — a great and powerful nation with unlimited resources by sea and land, and ready and willing to give important aid in troops and arms, with the connivance, or even in spite, of the United States Government.

The Irish Americans, on the other hand, were grossly deceived as to the power and resources of the revolutionary element in Ireland. When, after the futile attempt had been made and it was discovered that the American Government had not the slightest intention to allow the Fenians to make any hostile demonstrations, and it was seen that its connivance was only in consideration of



the Irish vote, there came, in addition to failure in Ireland, the curse of fractious disunion in America. The Fenian Brotherhood broke up into a number of cliques, and their various circles still form under other names, the material of Irish revolution.

† But from the collapse of Fenianism until the year 1879 Irish revolutionists isolated themselves entirely from the public life of Ireland. They had failed in their attempt to sever all political connection with England, and sank once more into comparative insignificance and oblivion. In the Home Rule movement they took but little interest, and that motley crowd of members of Parliament who gathered round Mr. Butt after the general election of 1874 was never in any sense representative of the "Irish people" as the term was understood by Lalor and Stephens.





## CHAPTER V.

### THE LAND QUESTION—THE FAITH OF A FELON.

HAVING now prominently brought into view the sentimental aspect of Irish nationality on both sides of the Atlantic, and the efforts of Irish revolutionists of 1848 and 1865 to bring it into practical operation, it is time to consider what effect their views have had upon the most recent phase of Irish disturbance. Happily for the historian and the politician and the Government, nearly all the modern Irish revolutionists have been journalists. Their ideas and objects have always been put into shape and given due publicity, so that those who choose may trace the origin and advance of all the most recent Irish agitations. The newspaper history of the rise and fall of the Land League is fresh in the minds of the public, though probably few know its real origin.

There is nothing new under the sun, and the organization of the Land League is no exception to the wise man's aphorism. Like all other national movements, the anti-rent agitation and the no-rent combination are the children of a by-gone generation. To James Fintan Lalor the

leaders of the Land League owe their inspiration, and their action was successful because they received sufficient pecuniary aid from America to make them formidable at the very moment when, from reasons best known to themselves, the English Government were unwilling to crush an incipient revolution.

James Fintan Lalor was born at Tenakill in the Queen's County, son of Patrick Lalor, one of the largest tenant farmers in Ireland, and sometime member of Parliament for his native county, and father of the present member for Queen's County, Mr. James Lalor. The Lalors or O'Lalours were one of the seven septs of Laix, and were transplanted to Munster by King James I., for the peace of the English plantation in the Queen's County. On every rebellion they were found running back to their old homes, and thus, perhaps, the Lalors of Tenakill came back to their old neighborhood.

From the first, James Fintan Lalor had one grand idea upon the land question, which if properly carried out, he maintained, would revolutionize Ireland and reconquer the "land for the people." This was, briefly, the refusal of all rent and the resistance of the service of the queen's writs. In 1848, when John Mitchel parted company with the *Nation*, and embodied in the pages of the *United Irishman* the revolutionary creed to

which he himself fell a victim, he was anxious to obtain Lalor's service as a writer. The negotiation miscarried, and Mitchel accordingly appropriated Lalor's ideas and used them freely in his journal. When the *United Irishman* was suppressed and Mitchel was transported, a paper called the *Irish Felon* was started to carry on the views of the defunct revolutionary organ, and in the only numbers which were allowed circulation by the Government in June and July, 1848, are to be found in full the whole programme of the Irish National Land League of 1879-1882.

Lalor had been one of the small band of men who had broken away from O'Connell and formed the Irish Confederation. He entirely disbelieved in Repeal as a national cry. The measure which he wished to substitute for the Repeal of the Union was absolute independence, with abolition of the tenures by which the lands of Ireland are holden in fee from the British Crown.

In the first number of the *Irish Felon*, June 24, 1848, Lalor's first paper appeared, stating the principles which ought to guide Irish revolutionists in the future: "The principle I state and mean to stand upon is this — that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland; that they, and none but they, are the landowners and lawmakers of this island; that all

laws are null and void not made by them, and all titles to land invalid not conferred or confirmed by them; and that this full right of ownership may and ought to be asserted and enforced by any and all means which God has put in the power of man. In other, if not plainer language, I hold and maintain that the entire soil of a country belongs of right to the entire people of that country, and is the rightful property not of any one class, but of the nation at large, in full effective possession, to let to whom they will on whatever tenures, terms, rent services, and conditions they will; one condition being, however, unavoidable and essential—the condition that the tenant shall bear full, true, and undivided fealty and allegiance to the nation and the laws of the nation whose lands he holds, and owe no allegiance whatsoever to any other prince, power, or people, or any obligation of obedience or respect to their will, orders, or laws.

“I hold further, and firmly believe, that the enjoyment by the people of this right of first ownership of the soil is essential to the vigor and vitality of all other rights; to their validity, efficacy, and value; to their secure possession and safe exercise. . . . Between the relative merits and importance of the two rights, the people’s right to the law and their right to legislation, I do not mean or wish to institute any comparison. I

am far indeed from desirous to put the two rights in competition or contrast, for I consider each alike, as the natural complement of the other, necessary to its theoretical completeness and practical efficacy. But considering them for a moment as distinct, I do mean to assert this—that the land question contains, and the legislative question does not contain, the materials from which victory is manufactured; and that, therefore, if we be truly in earnest and determined on success, it is on the former question, and not on the latter, we must take our stand, fling out our banner, and hurl down to England our gage of battle. Victory follows that banner and no other. This island is ours, and have it we will, if the leaders be but true to the people, and the people be true to themselves. . . .

“The rights of property may be pleaded. No one has a higher respect for the real rights of property than I have; but I do not class among them the robber rights by which the lands of this country are now held in fee from the British Crown. I acknowledge no right of property in a small class which goes to abrogate the rights of a numerous people. I acknowledge no right of property in eight thousand persons, be they noble or ignoble, which takes away all rights of property, security, independence, and existence itself from a population of eight millions, and stands in

bar to all the political rights of the island and all the social rights of its inhabitants. I acknowledge no right of property which takes the food of millions and gives them a famine — which denies to the peasant the right of a home, and concedes in exchange the right of a workhouse. I deny and challenge all such rights, however founded or enforced. I challenge them as founded only in the code of the brigand, and enforced only by the sanction of the hangman. Against them I assert the true and indefeasible right of property — the right of the people to have this land and possess it; to live in it in comfort, security, and independence; and to live in it by their own labor, on their own land, as God and nature meant them to do. Against them I shall array, if I can, all the forces that yet remain in this island. And against them I am determined to make, to their destruction or my own.”

In the second number of the *Irish Felon* newspaper, July 1, 1848, Lalor printed a paper written in the last week of the preceding year, which contains the full scheme of revolution propounded by him for the separation of Ireland from England. It is impossible to give it in full. After denouncing O'Connell's idea of Repeal as impracticable, inadequate, incompatible, and absurd, he points out that a fight against England must be defensive. “The force of England is entrenched and

fortified. You must draw it out of position; break up its mass; break its trained line of march, and manœuvre its equal step and serried array. You cannot organize or train or discipline your own force to any point of efficiency. You must therefore disorganize and untrain and undiscipline that of the enemy; and not alone must you *unsoldier*, you must *unofficer* it also; nullify its tactics and strategy as well as its discipline; decompose the science and system of war, and resolve them into their first elements. You must make the hostile army a mob, as your own will be; force it to act on the offensive, and oblige it to undertake operations for which it never was constructed. Nothing of all this could you do on Repeal."

After enunciating these new principles of warfare, which are easily recognized as the basis of the modern Land League operations, 1879-1882, Lalor goes on to sketch out in some detail how he would promote an Irish revolution:—"There is yet another class of means and mode of force, better founded in moral right and more efficient in action than either agitation or military insurrection. Its theory may be briefly stated as founded on the principle of natural law . . . . that every distinct community or nation of men is owner of itself, and can never of right be bound to submit to be governed by another peo-

Lalor's  
theory  
of  
natural  
law  
land

ple. Its practical assertion forms the *third* mode of action which this country might have recourse to; and consists—

1. In refusal of obedience to usurped authority ;
2. In maintaining and defending such refusal of obedience ;
3. In resisting every attempt to exercise such usurped authority and every proceeding adopted to enforce obedience ;
4. In taking quiet and peaceable possession of all the rights and powers of Government, and in proceeding quietly to exercise them.
5. In maintaining and defending the exercise of such rights and powers should it be attacked.

“I have thought of a name for this system of means, and for want of a better I may call it *moral insurrection*. The difference between it and *true military insurrection* amounts to nothing more, in practical effect, than the difference between the *defensive* and the *aggressive* use of physical force—a difference, however, which is often important, whether as regards moral right or mechanical efficacy. . . . The practical assertion of the right consists of two parts—

1. Abolition of British government.
2. Formation of a national one.

“(1) How would you proceed to accomplish the former? By a *general* refusal to obey the *entire* existing law? Impossible. You could not



do this even mentally to your own satisfaction; much less could you do it in actual fact. Or by selecting and seizing some one particular law to take your stand upon, trample down, and nullify? What law? Name it. The law you select for assailing must have four requisites:—first, it must form no part of the moral code; second, it must be essential to Government—a part of its substance, not a mere accident, the abrogation of which would be an abrogation of sovereignty; third, it must be one easily disobeyed, and, fourth, difficult to enforce—in other words, a law that would help to repeal itself. There is none such to serve the purpose of repeal. In Ireland, unluckily, there is no direct and general State tax, payment of which might be refused and resisted.

“(2) The second component part of the system—formation of a national Government—is rendered impossible by the circumstance that the owners of the soil are not on your side, and are not Irish, but English all in blood and feeling.”

After some more denunciation of Repeal, Lalor proceeds with his programme — “A revolution is beginning to begin which will leave Ireland without a people, unless it be met and conquered by a revolution which will leave it without landlords. The operation of this terrible famine will turn half the small tillage farmers, the sole strength and hope of this island, into mere laborers working

for wages. The operation of the measure of repealing the corn duties, rendered more sure and speedy by the present sudden increase of demand for foreign corn, will leave landless the remainder. . . . One move will save checkmate. . . . Strip, then, and bid Ireland strip. Now or never—if indeed it be not yet too late to achieve independence. . . . There is, I am convinced, but one way alone, and that is, link Repeal to some other question, like a railway carriage to the engine; some question possessing the intrinsic question which Repeal wants, and strong enough to carry both itself and Repeal together. *And such a question there is in the Land.* One ready prepared. Ages have been preparing it. An engine ready made; one, too, that will generate its own steam without cost or care—a self-acting engine, if once the fire be kindled, and the fuel to kindle, the sparks for the kindling are everywhere. Repeal had always to be dragged. This I speak of will carry itself, as the cannon ball carries itself down the hill.”

In the following number of the *Irish Felon*, July 8, 1848, Lalor concluded his essay—under the heading “THE FAITH OF A FELON.” In this he distinctly lays down the no-rent policy of the past year.

“Years ago,” he says, “I perceived that the English conquest consisted of two parts combined into one whole, the conquest of our liberties and

the conquest of our lands. I saw clearly the reconquest of our liberties would be incomplete and worthless without the reconquest of our lands — would not necessarily involve or produce that of our lands, and could not, on its own means, be possibly achieved; while the reconquest of our lands would involve the other, would at least be complete in itself and adequate to its own purpose, and could possibly, if not easily be achieved. The lands were owned by the conquering race or by traitors of the conquered race. They were occupied by the native people or by settlers who had mingled and merged. *I selected as the mode of reconquest to refuse payment of rent and resist process of ejection.*”

After regretting that this method of revolution was not adopted by the Young Ireland party which formed the Confederation, upon whom Lalor had pressed it as the only means of effecting a successful insurrection, he continues —

“The opinions I then stated, and which I yet stand firm to, are these: 1. That in order to save their own lives, the occupying tenants of the soil of Ireland ought next autumn to refuse all rent and arrears of rent then due, beyond and except the value of the overplus of harvest produce remaining in their hands, after having deducted and reserved a due and full provision for their own subsistence during the next twelve months.

2. That they ought to refuse and resist being made beggars, landless and homeless, under the English law of ejectment. 3. That they ought further, *on principle*, to refuse ALL rent to the present usurping proprietors (or lords paramount in legal parlance), have in national congress or convention decided what rents they are to pay, and to whom they are to pay them. 4. And that the people, on grounds of policy and economy, ought to decide that those rents shall be paid to themselves, the people, for public purposes and for behoof and benefit of them, the entire general people.

“These are the principles, as clearly and fully stated,” continues Lalor, “as limit of time will allow, which I advise Ireland to adopt at once, and at once to aim for. Should the people accept and adhere to them, the English Government will then have to choose whether to surrender the Irish landlords, or to support them with the armed power of the empire.

“If it refuse to incur the odium and expense, and to peril the safety of England in a social war of extermination, then the landlords are nobody, the *people are lords of the land, a mighty social revolution is accomplished, and the foundations of a national revolution surely laid*. If it should, on the other hand, determine to come to the rescue and relief of its garrison, elect to force their rents and enforce their rights by infantry, cavalry, and

cannon, and attempt to lift and carry the whole harvest of Ireland — a somewhat heavy undertaking, which might become a hot one too — then I, at least, for one, am prepared to bow with a humble resignation to the dispensations of Providence. Welcome be the will of God. We must only try to keep our harvest, to offer a peaceful, passive resistance, to barricade the island, to break up the roads, to break down the bridges; and should need be and favorable occasion occur, surely we may venture to try the steel. Other approved modes of moral resistance might gradually be added to these, according as we should become trained to the system; and all combined, I imagine, and well worked, might possibly task the strength and break the heart of the empire. Into artistic details, however, I need not and do not choose to enter for the present.

“It has been said to me that such a war, on the principles I propose, would be looked on with detestation by Europe. I assert the contrary. I say such a war would propagate itself throughout Europe. Mark the words of this prophecy: the principle I proposed goes to the foundations of Europe, and sooner or later will cause Europe to outrise. Mankind will yet be masters of the earth. The right of the people to make the laws; this produced the first great modern earthquake, whose latest shocks even now are heaving in the

heart of the world. The right of the people to own the land ; this will produce the next. Train your hands and your sons' hands, gentlemen of earth, for you and they will yet have to use them. I want to put Ireland foremost, in the van of the world, at the head of the nations ; to set her aloft in the blaze of the sun, and to make her for ages the loadstar of history. Will she take the path I point out—the path to be free and famed and feared and followed, the path that goes sunward ? Or onward to the end of time will wretched Ireland ever come limping and lagging hindmost."

That question has been answered in the year 1880, and the path that James Fintan Lalor pointed out has been found to lead to the jail, and not to glory. How his programme was carried out by another generation of conspirators, I will narrate in a succeeding chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE LAND QUESTION — *Continued.*

SUCH were the doctrines of James Fintan Lalor upon the land question in 1848. They were fully adopted in the next great revolutionary movement in Ireland in principle, but Stephens only looked upon the land question as a matter to be decided when the great battle of Irish independence had been fought and won. Lalor, on the other hand, from the first saw that the land was the most effective weapon to win that battle, and his remarkable scheme, excavated from its obscurity in America and worked by the Land League, has, in fact, brought the whole question of the Repeal of the Union once more before the world. A well-known Irish lawyer,\* a Catholic and formerly a member of Parliament, used to say, with Celtic point, there were three questions in Ireland — the land question, the education question, and the land question. The Irish Church is the English question, as being an admitted wrong in politics; the Irish education question is the Roman question, as being that which most interested the

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\* The late Vincent Scully, Q.C., M.P.

Church of Rome; but the Irish land question is *the Irish question*. The theories of Lalor, and the success with which they have hitherto been attended, would seem to corroborate this remark. During the Fenian times, it is quite certain that the possession of land was held out as a bait to the populace to become secret revolutionary brethren, and the writing in the *Irish People*, the organ established by Stephens for the purpose of imbuing the masses with the principles of revolution, coincided entirely with all Lalor wrote. The *Irish People* was first published in December, 1863, and ran with extraordinary success until it was seized and suppressed in the summer of 1865. The effect produced by its plain, pointed writing was quite unequaled in the annals of revolutionary journalism. In a short time it was very clear that, for the first time in the history of Ireland, the masses were urged to give their clergy the go-by, and depend upon their own efforts in the cause of "liberty, fraternity, and equality."\* Though treating the land question as outside the

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\* "Superstition is fast yielding to common sense in this country. . . . Experience proves that submission to certain Irish bishops in political matters is equivalent to slavery. . . . With reflection this truth comes, that the priesthood have a right to enforce obedience on their flocks only so far as spiritual matters are concerned." — *Irish People*, May 14, 1864.

"Can any one, save a knave or a fool, deny the malignant and persistent hostility of most of the clergy to the national cause since '48?" — *Irish People*, June 4, 1864.

"PULPIT DENUNCIATIONS AND PRIESTS IN POLITICS. — Now it is declared a mortal sin to read the *Irish People*. . . . Was not John Mitchel



region of revolution, it was used for the purpose of inflaming the passions of the people against the landed gentry, precisely as it has been used during the past two years. A few extracts are sufficient to show this; *e.g.* :

"They are but given some sparks of the sacred fire of '98, and, lo, the whole is all ablaze. . . . We now *know* that this island through and through is ours—the *Irish People's*, and that, being ours by right, it is our duty to make it so in fact."—*Irish People*, December 5, 1863.

"It is territorial magnates of the British empire who are the grand obstacle in the path of Ireland's prosperity, and never, till they and the accursed land laws which in their own interest they have enacted are swept clean away, and the land restored to its rightful proprietors, the Irish people, will there be an end of those horrors which have astonished the nations. . . . The *land* is the real reason why the flow of the Irish race are rushing across the Atlantic."—July 2, 1864.

"Who are the rightful owners of the soil? The people. . . . Throughout all we see one grand system of injustice and oppression constantly at work. . . . It is a system which, in its least repulsive aspects, compels thousands and tens of thou-

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drawn to declare that there was no hope for Ireland till her whole people should be excommunicated with bell, book, and candle? 'Tis an old story. We ought to have it by heart long ago."—*Irish People*, September 24, 1864.

Land for  
the  
people

people  
own  
soil

sands to fret and toil, and live and die, in hunger and rags and wretchedness, that a few useless drones may revel in indolence and luxury. . . . Such a system is accursed alike of man and of God, and our country never will possess an hour's prosperity or peace till it is swept away, root and branch." — July 9, 1864.

"It will be admitted on all hands that labor must lie at the very foundation of those rights [of property]. Land is the great raw material out of which everything valuable to supply man's necessities, and to minister to his enjoyments, is originally extracted. It is the inheritance of no privileged class, but of the entire community, and should be parcelled out by the State on such terms as are most conducive to protect and to promote the interests of all. This simple principle strikes at once at the very root of that enormous evil called territorial landlordism, which, like some huge poison tree, has for so many centuries cursed other European lands, as well as our own, with its deadly and destructive shadow." — July 30, 1864.

"To permit a privileged class, either alien or native, to possess a monopoly of the soil of any country is an intolerable evil. Its continued enforcement is neither more nor less than a constant robbery by the rich and powerful of the laborious earnings of the poor and helpless. . . . The land is the property of the people." — *Ibid.*

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“‘IRELAND FOR THE IRISH.’ — Every man has one simple object to accomplish. It is to rid the land of robbers, and to render every cultivator of the soil his own landlord, the proprietor, in fee-simple, of the house and land of his father, which will be an inheritance worth a freeman’s while to bequeath to his children, and worth the children’s while to enjoy in a nation which bows to no power under heaven.” — September 17, 1864.

Notwithstanding these appeals to agrarian revolution, it was not long before the older Irish agriculturist was once more peaceably inclined, for no occupation implants so speedy and effectual a love of peace and order as husbandry and tillage of the soil. Wars are, in truth, as much the detestation of farmers as of mothers. Moreover, the local leaders of the revolution had fled the country, terrified by the energy of the Government and the treason of their associates, so that fifteen more years had to elapse (the allotted period for the ripening of a revolution) before a new generation sprang into existence eager for the excitement of another national movement. Legislation stepped in at a moment when it was thought advisable to attempt some settlement of Irish affairs, although the manner in which the electioneering campaign was carried on must always be regarded as dangerous as read by the light of recent events. When canvassing for the power

to rule in 1868, Mr. Gladstone recommended himself by asserting that Ireland must be governed by Irish ideas. He declared that the Protestant Church of Ireland, the land of Ireland (meaning the proprietorial right of the land), and the education of Ireland were all branches of a pestilential upas tree, to which he gave the name of "Protestant ascendancy," being, in fact, English ascendancy. He called upon the Protestant people of England to put down this Protestant ascendancy, telling them that he and his party were banded together to make war upon that system, namely, upon the Protestant ascendancy in the Church, in the land, and on the education. Mr. Bright, at Limerick in the same year, enlarged upon the method of lopping the Land branch, and held it up as a grievance to the "people of Ireland" that eight-ninths of the land belonged to Protestants. Such language, so closely resembling that of the Irish revolutionists themselves,\* was not calculated to allay the anti-English feelings which had been so successfully excited and sustained by the Fenian writers. But the Church Act and Land Act of 1870 were passed, and Ireland became apparently tranquil, and her inhabitants outwardly peaceable.

How different the effect of failure on the Irish-American mind! Stung to desperation by defeat,

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\* See *Irish People*, July 30, 1864.

goaded into a vindictive desire for revenge, with their leaders in prison and their highest hopes blasted, the Fenian brotherhood set about some new scheme for the future regeneration of their mother country, forgetful of the change which had come over the minds of the Irish at home. They had but to begin over again. Ireland still, as ever, gave opportunity of mischief, and defeat and detection were only looked upon by the buccaneering leaders as a fresh pretext for renewed hatred against the name of England. For this reason it was more important than ever that civil combination should go hand in hand with the military organization of the Fenian brotherhood. Accordingly, an alliance was made with what is known in America as the Labor party. Newspapers were started in the interests of the most radical of the democratic political section. The cause of the Irish tenants was identified with the cause of American labor, and Fenianism joined hands with the most violent advocates of revolution all over the world. //

Link  
between  
Fenianism  
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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE REVOLUTION.

BETWEEN 1870 and 1878 a vast propaganda of American ideas had been imported, quietly and regularly, into Ireland. The Irish-American refugees soon became owners of a newspaper called the *Irish World*, which had been first projected by Mr. W. E. Robinson, of Brooklyn, and now member of Congress for that city, but which soon became the property of the most violent section of the Fenian party. They watched very closely the affairs at home, and waited patiently for a moment when another blow could be struck at the power of England. With the Home Rule movement the Fenians had but little sympathy, and the character of the association founded for the advancement of Home Rule was of so complex a description that all its component parts, all the various interests and influences which projected it, will not probably be known until a future generation has arisen. But we may be certain of this, that the Fenians were not unrepresented in it. Federalists, Nationalists, Repealers, Tenant-righters—all these had their advocates openly amongst

the motley crowd that obtained seats under the generalship of Mr. Butt at the ballot-boxes of the General Election of 1874. We may rest assured, and the event has proved how true the fact is, that the Fenian party in America have been secretly represented in Parliament, and that their representatives have done good service for the cause of which John Mitchel, James Stephens, and O'Donovan Rossa are the brightest ornaments. It may be doubted whether the Home Rule movement was in reality looked upon by the bulk of the people with any real interest. It is quite different with the land question. Here was a subject that came home to them with peculiar force ; it was at their very doors ; and to hear theories which held out hopes of changing mere tenure into actual ownership was a terrible temptation to throw common sense to the winds, and join an agitation with so delightful and beneficial an aim.

But the *Irish World* for many years advocated nothing but physical force. The writers of it had all been victims of English law, and had suffered pains and penalties in various degrees for different crimes, from treason-felony to seducing the queen's soldiers from their allegiance.

From its foundation in 1870, up to 1879, one of the principal features of the newspaper was the "National Fund," formed for the purposes of "skirmishing" against the power of England.



The following headings were always standing in a prominent position:—

“THE NATIONAL FUND.

“MAXIMS FOR SKIRMISHERS.

“HUMANE WARFARE. — The shortest, swiftest, and cheapest warfare—that which does the greatest material damage to the enemy with the least loss of life to either side—is the most humane warfare.

“A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF IT. The first and last thing to be considered in war is SUCCESS. Every act that looks to this end is justifiable and honorable. Do nothing in bad blood, nothing in pure malice. But every act likely to inflict material damage on England and give strength and prestige to the Irish cause—every act that will open England’s eyes and make her feel that it does not PAY to hold Ireland—will be approved by common sense. The Irish leader who does not keep this principle in sight should abdicate his leadership.

“IRELAND AND AMERICA.—‘The wrongs of which America had to complain (in 1776) were but mosquito bites by the side of the enormous injuries which had been inflicted by English selfishness on the trade and manufactures of Ireland. Why was Ireland to submit when America was winning admiration by resistance? Why, in-



deed, save that America was in earnest; the Irish were not.' — *Froude*.

“ENGLAND’S MODE OF WARFARE. What is it? Ask the biographer of Cromwell. Ask the Kookas of India. Ask the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Listen: — ‘She has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, BURNT OUR TOWNS, and destroyed the lives of our people.’ This is the testimony of the men of ’76. Ask the American historian of the war of 1812. Ask the Ashantees how England made war upon them. Ask every unfortunate people upon whom England has ever breathed her unwholesome breath, and in whose midst her ruffian soldiery have planted her robber flag. The answer is all the same.

“JUSTICE, NOT VENGEANCE. Peace is the natural and proper state of man. No rational being ever yet wanted war for war’s own sake. The men who originated the Skirmishing Movement are lovers of Peace. Whatever villifiers may say to the contrary, this is the truth. But Peace, to be enduring, must have its foundation in Right and Justice. Such is not the ‘peace of Warsaw.’ Now, the question is: Does England in sincerity desire Peace? If she does she can have it. Let her but restore their plundered rights to the Irish people to-morrow, and there is an end to it. All ill-feeling shall be put away. Not a word more shall ever be said of her seven centuries of crimes.

If we cannot FORGET, we shall at least endeavor to forgive the past. It is not Vengeance we seek: it is JUSTICE."

Meanwhile, however, had arisen a new schism amongst the Irish in America. In 1878 a party arose who had read James Fintan Lalor's ideas in the *Irish Felon*, and who had formed a scheme to carry them into effect. Michael Davitt, who was enjoying the freedom which the Government had given him as a convict on a ticket of leave, and John Devoy, formerly an active Fenian agent in seducing English soldiers from their allegiance, were the men who inaugurated what they called a "new departure in National politics," and having secured the co-operation of the *Irish World* as their organ in the press, and the approval of the leaders of the Boston Irish, they proceeded at once to set on foot the third and last attempt to effect such an Irish Revolution as was foreshadowed by Lalor, the rebel of 1848. Davitt, at the latter end of 1878, delivered a lecture in Boston detailing his plan to the Irish in America, and immediately left for Ireland. Devoy wrote a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, dated from New York, December 11, 1878, containing a full account of the proposed agitation, and the policy which was in future to guide the Irish revolutionists.

The plan laid down was simply to honeycomb the provinces with organized bodies of men, the

exact counterpart of the Fenian Brotherhood, but with none of its secrecy. Ireland, in fact, was to be governed by a large number of small land centres, under the command of a supreme vigilance committee, and the object in view was to depreciate the value of property, to drive the owners of that property out of the country by "constitutional" agitation and exasperation, and finally, to obtain possession of the soil of Ireland in whatever way time and circumstances might point out. "The land should be owned by those who till the soil," that was the banner of the new agitation.

The policy of the agitation was founded exactly upon the principles laid down by Lalor. It was to be carried out within the limits of existing law. The whole essence of it was that the Irish Nationalists, who had hitherto abjured all methods but the sword, should take part in the ordinary political life of Ireland. The object aimed at was stated to be the recovery of Ireland's national independence, and the severance of all political connection with England; and to gain this the whole energies, the best intellect, the financial forces, and the physical strength of the nation were to be enlisted.

Most of the individuals responsible for the "new departure" were not only ineligible to Parliament by being convicts or ticket-of-leave men, but also incapable, on conscientious grounds, of taking the Parliamentary oath. But this mattered little.

The revolutionists believed there were good men enough in the country, not bound by pledges, who could be trusted to play the revolutionary game in Parliament, and who would not hesitate to adopt a bold policy. That such has proved to be the case is sufficiently evident. But the most important point in the new policy was the declaration of an organized, steady and persistent effort to get possession of the local bodies throughout Ireland. The municipal bodies, the boards of guardians, the farmers, and tenant clubs, all these were to be honeycombed with revolution; and with the majority of these in their possession, the leaders of the movement believed they could do much which in January, 1879, they could scarcely dream of.

With the municipal bodies, and with men of spirit and determination as Parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race all over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or to obstruct, and Irish Nationalists would have no more "Tallaghts," or cabbage gardens, flung in their faces. Home Rule on Mr. Butt's federal plans was dismissed as absurd. Simple repeal would restore the Irish House of Lords—an intolerable notion to those who could not even endure landlords. The only plan worthy of support was to form a common platform which would

bind all who advocate "self-government," withholding a definition of that word until the country itself should speak in a manner to command the allegiance of all. So much for the new scheme for a coalition of Irish parties. By far the most important part of the manifesto, in view of the land-and-labor agitation, which it preceded, was the section upon the land question.

"No party or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people except it *honestly proposes a radical reform of the land system*. No matter what may be said in favor of individual landlords, the whole system was founded on robbery and fraud, and has been perpetuated by cruelty, injustice, extortion, and hatred of the people. The men who got small farms in the time of confiscation settled down in the country, and their descendants, no matter what their political party, are now 'bone of our bone'—have become Irish—and perform a useful function in the land. No one thinks of disturbing them. If the landlords had become Irish, and treated the people with humanity, the original robbery might be forgiven—though a radical change in the tenure of land must come of itself some day; but when, as a class, they have simply done England's work of rooting out the Irish people; when the history of landlordism is simply a dark story of heartless cruelty, of artificial

famines, of evictions, of rags and squalid misery, there is no reason why we should forget that the system was forced upon us by England, and that the majority of the present landlords are the inheritors of the robber horde sent over by Elizabeth and James I., by Cromwell and William of Orange, to garrison the country for England. It is the interest of Ireland that THE LAND SHOULD BE OWNED BY THOSE WHO TILL THE SOIL, and this could be reached without even inflicting hardship on those who deserve no leniency at the hands of the Irish people. A solution of the Land Question has been reached, to a large extent, in France, in Prussia, and in Belgium, by enabling the occupiers to purchase their holdings. LET THE IRISH LANDLORDS BE GIVEN A LAST CHANCE OF SETTLING THE IRISH LAND QUESTION AMICABLY IN THIS MANNER, OR WAIT FOR A SOLUTION IN WHICH THEY SHALL HAVE NO PART.

“Let a beginning be made with the absentees, the English lords and the London companies who had stolen land in Ireland, and there will be enough of work for some years to come. Let evictions be stopped at all hazards, and the rooting-out process come to an end. But I shall be told the English Parliament will never do any of these things. Then, I say, these things must only wait till an Irish Parliament can do them better;

but in the mean time good work will have been done, sound principles inculcated, and the country aroused and organized.

“To those who are alarmed at language like this, in regard to the Land Question, I would say, ‘Look at France, at Prussia, and Belgium, and you will find that the secret of their prosperity lies in the numbers of the tillers of the soil who own their holdings. Listen to the mutterings of the coming storm *in England*, and ask yourselves what is going to become of the land monopoly after a few more years of commercial or manufacturing depression—a depression sure to continue, because the causes of it are on the increase.

“The English are a very practical and very selfish people, and will not let any fine sentiment stand in the way when they think it is their interest to redistribute the land. What, may I ask, would become of the Irish landlords—especially the rack-renting, evicting ones—*in case of a social convulsion in England?* It is a question which they themselves must decide within the next few years. With them or without them the question will be settled before long, and many who now think the foregoing assertions extravagant, will consider them very moderate indeed by-and-by.”

Here then was the engine ready made to hand, which would generate its own steam, and to which

was to be hereafter linked the question of separation from England. The fire was kindled by Davitt, and he found the sparks for the first kindling in the west of Ireland.

For some months, while the Home Rule party was luxuriating in the pleasures of private quarrels and public discussions, Davitt was busily engaged in taking up the broken threads of the old Fenian conspiracy, and organizing the new departure in Irish practical politics. Mayo was the scene of his first labors. Here he was born. Here he was certain of a circle of friends, all ready and willing to engage in the quasi-open combination against the owners of property. Had he not at his back another ex-political prisoner, a Fenian gentleman of distinction, who boasted that he had had not only the honor of a seat in Parliament, but also the far greater honor of a seat on a wooden stool in an English prison — Mr. O'Connor Power, the member for Mayo? This, then, was the field for Davitt's efforts, and the result amply justified his expectations.

Lalor himself could not have desired better material than had Davitt ready to his hand. From 1877 to 1879 there had been a marked decrease in the growth of the staple crop of potatoes.\* The losses of those three years, in potatoes alone, were valued at £10,286,000, and in Connaught espec-

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\* See Thom's Directory, 1880, p. 694.



ially was this particularly felt. The population of that province consists in a very large measure of migratory laborers, a class almost peculiar to Ireland, and these men had felt keenly the loss of employment as harvestmen in England. For years the men of Connaught had been reaping golden harvests for themselves and their English employers, journeying to and fro between England and Ireland. As long as wages were good, and there was English capital to employ Connaught labor, there was no murmuring heard in the west, no mutterings of the "land for the people." And this notwithstanding bad crops and bad climate since 1877. But directly the stream of English cash ceased coursing into the pockets of the migratory Connaught men, it became evident the outlook was almost hopeless. The realization of the stoppage of English wages first became apparent in March, 1879. It is in that month the Irish of Connaught begin to leave for England, and the flow of them goes on gradually increasing week after week, more or less, according to the accounts sent home of the extent of employment. Bad news came back very quickly, and we now know that the men of Mayo had the first presage of their fate in March, and were fully aware of it in June.

During the whole of that time, Davitt was busily engaged in organizing the western masses,

upon whom he depended to give the initial velocity to his agitation. The cry of distress and destitution was first raised where there was much real need and misery. Connaught had, from time immemorial, presented scenes of poverty and wretchedness, which had shocked the world, and from time to time had invited the sympathy and assistance of all nations. For the first time the condition of that province was to be made the stepping-stone to another Irish revolution.

The scheme was well devised and carried out. While Davitt was organizing in the provinces, the active Parliamentary party were engaged in obtaining their first object, the final dismissal of Mr. Butt, who had long since been a stumbling-block to their new policy of obstruction. This was obtained by the action of Mr. John Dillon in the Home Rule League. The next thing was to win over to the actual Fenian party (which at this time consisted, as far as I can gather from facts, principally of Messrs. Davitt, Dillon, and O'Connor Power) the advanced obstructionists, Messrs. Parnell, O'Donnell, Biggar, and A. M. Sullivan. That for a long time Mr. Parnell was unwilling to accept the present crusade against landlords as a solution of the land question is evident by his speeches. His idea seems to have been to conduct an agitation in England. As late as the 17th of April, 1879, he held back, but soon after that

date he gave in his adhesion to the new policy. On the 20th of April the first fruits of Davitt's organization became evident in the meeting at Irishtown, County Mayo, where the speakers were, as might be expected, Messrs. Daly, Brennan (of subsequent fame), and O'Connor Power, M.P. From this date the anti-rent agitation commenced to spread throughout the country, and soon displayed signs of how deeply laid and how admirably organized the system was.

The great end in view, from the very commencement of the plot, was to arouse the worst feeling of the agricultural population against the landlords. To blind the public, however, and especially the landlords, the ostensible reasons at first thrown out for the anti-rent agitation were the agricultural distress and the fears of a bad harvest which was dexterously and emphatically prophesied. But soon the mask was thrown off; the true keynote of the new revolutionary conspiracy was boldly struck, and the motto at every extreme land meeting in the west was the "Land for the people." The cry was taken up throughout Ireland. Mr. Parnell stoutly preached the doctrine of repudiation of contract, and advocated the disestablishment and disendowment of the landlord classes, loudly and ably assisted by Michael Davitt. As the movement grew stronger and stronger, ecclesiastical influence was boldly and openly

resisted on the public platform, and the whole agitation culminated in the foundation by Davitt of the enormous vigilance committee, known under the name of the National Land League, and the resolutions of the National Convention Committee, deciding to assemble in the course of a year a national convention of the Irish people.

Such was the commencement of the anti-landlord agitation in Ireland. In Parliament the obstructionists attracted the eyes of the world upon themselves for one purpose only, to gain power and influence with the Irish people during the forthcoming agitation and general election. Ably assisted outside the walls of the House of Commons, the energy, the ability, the determination of the Irish agitators has no parallel almost in modern politics. In England, Scotland, and Ireland they spoke and wrote with surprising vigor and unceasing assiduity. Eagerly accepting help from any one and every one, the moderate Home Ruler and the ambitious English Whig, eager for a seat in Parliament, alike fell a prey to their unscrupulous machinations. Messrs. Davitt and Co. were going a longer journey than most Irish politicians, but they would be glad of the company of any public man, no matter how short the distance might be for which they traveled together. There was a small inner band of devotees who had determined to push the plot against the owners of

land in Ireland, no matter who accompanied them. The people were at their back in the west, and they hoped soon to have sufficient propagandists to infect the whole country.

Meanwhile the *Irish World* did good work in the press, sending vast quantities of inflammable matter into Ireland. If any one during the last ten years had taken the trouble to go down to the Kingsbridge terminus, Dublin, and awaited the arrival of the American mail, he would have seen (as I have) large bales landed on the platforms; and if he had had a Fenian friend beside him, and had asked him, "What do those bales contain?" he would have answered with a wink, "Light! Light! Light!" and would have whispered the watchword, "Spread the light." On further investigation it would have been found that these bales were copies of the *Irish World* in thousands. The following passage, published August 30, 1879, is a good specimen of its tone and matter:—

#### "THE GOOD WORK.

"So far as the scope of our observation extends, there has never yet been a time in the history of Irish Revolutionary organizations when the men consecrated to the Liberation of their Motherland were more zealous in the cause, more harmonious in council, more intelligently active, less solicitous for 'leadership,' or more animated by a profound

sense of duty in the prosecution to a final and successful issue of the holy work—is it not a holy work?—which they have now in hand.

“And for this most satisfactory state of things three names—JOHN DEVOY, JOHN J. BRESLIN, and DR. CARROLL—deserve especial thanks.

“Ireland has other good and excellent sons working faithfully in her cause; but these three men—CARROLL, BRESLIN, and DEVOY—impress us as men that have made a covenant, each with himself, to sink all other considerations, and to render every purpose entirely subservient to this one aspiration of their existence.

“Never did we feel more confident than now of the ultimate success of Ireland’s standard.

“And what we rest our solid hope upon is the fact that a *good beginning* has been made.

“‘First know you’re right,’ was the sensible advice of SAM SLICK, ‘then go ahead!’

“THE IRISH REVOLUTION AT LAST LOOKS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

“Fenianism saw only a Green Flag—a very good thing in its place, but not the *only* thing needed by the Irish people.

{ “THE MEN OF TO-DAY HAVE DISCOVERED THERE IS SUCH A THING AS LAND, AND THAT EVERY MAN BORN INTO THE WORLD WITHIN THE SEA-GIRT MARGIN OF IRELAND HAS AN *inalienable right* TO A MAN’S SHARE OF THAT LAND. }

“First *Light*, then *Action*. This is the programme of our day.”

The theory of no-rent was also industriously circulated in the following manner:—

“THE SECRET OF SLAVERY.

“The reader will please bear in mind the ground which we have gone over up to this time. *Usury covers every transaction among men where the income of an individual is not exactly measured by a labor service rendered.*

“LAND USURY.

“We first consider the subject of RENT, where the individual claiming the proprietorship of lands and houses secures an income for which he renders no labor equivalent. After giving the *rentier* a fair and complete hearing, I showed him to be a robber, living in luxury on the toil of useful people, and armed by statute law with infinite capacities for plunder.

“Please label RENT in this analysis of slavery as *land usury*.

“MONEY USURY.

“The next division of incomes-without-work we have considered under the head of INTEREST. When barter was supplanted by certificates or tokens of indebtedness known as money, the proprietor perpetuated his plunder by claiming the right to levy on labor, by virtue of owning the

land representative (money). In this claim he is perfectly consistent, if you concede his original claim to ownership in the soil. The original act of plunder, if acquiesced in sanctions the rest. Any man who does not believe in interest, and yet admits the right of property in God's soil, knocks down his own house.

"Please label INTEREST, the second great form of industrial plunder, as *money usury*.

#### "TRADE USURY.

"We now come to the third and last great form of usury, known as speculative profits. Land usury is a despotic levy on labor by virtue of 'owning' what is generally called *real property*. Money usury is an immoral and unwarranted levy, by virtue of owning the circulating medium, which may represent all things. Speculative Profits is a levy by virtue of owning and controlling the multitude of things which circulate in trade.

"Please label, then, this last form of plunder as *trade usury*.

"We have then these three comprehensive forms of Usury, viz.: LAND USURY, MONEY USURY, and TRADE USURY."

Towards the end of the year 1879, the schemes of the revolutionists became more and more obvious. First, they had extended the cry of dis-



1879  
tress amounting to famine from Connaught to the whole of the island, demanding for this reason a general reduction of rent. Next they proceeded to demand the abolition of those whose right it is to claim rent; then they denied the obligation of all rent; the land was made by God for the people, and they who tilled and occupied it should alone be the owners. At the end of October, Davitt's language grew so violent that Government engaged short-hand reporters to attend the Land League meetings, which hitherto had been everywhere held on Sundays in the open air. Archbishop McHale avowedly expressed his disapproval of the violent, defiant, and unconstitutional language of the speakers, and his condemnation was supported by other Catholic prelates. But the action of the clergy was totally unheeded. At Galway, on the 2nd of November, Mr. Parnell made a very plain statement as to the object of the agitation. He carefully explained that the strike against rent, and the refusal to take farms from which tenants were evicted, were merely means to an end, and that end was the compulsory sale of all landlord property in the land of Ireland. The main object was, that by the due exercise of terrorism, combined with a wholesale repudiation of contract, nobody would finally come forward to purchase the lands of which the tenants were occupiers. Then the Surplus Church

Fund was to be taken, the landlords bought out at a ruinous loss, and the tenants rooted in the soil. This effected, Lalor's prediction that a "mighty social revolution would be accomplished, and the foundations of a national revolution surely laid," might almost be said to be within reach of verification.

But on the very day that Mr. Parnell gave a sketch of his programme, the Government had decided to take instant steps to quell the revolutionary agitation. On November 19, Dublin and Sligo were aroused by the news that Messrs. Davitt, Daly, and Killen had been arrested on charges of having made use of seditious language at Gurteen on November 2. Thus ended the first chapter of the opening revolution.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### MR. PARNELL IN AMERICA.

AT the time when Davitt, Killen, and Daly were arrested, the Irish National Land League was in its infancy, without funds, without fame, and without a secure foundation. In order to get into his own hands the reins of the revolution, Davitt now determined upon destroying the only other existing popular organization, viz., the Central Tenants Defence Association, whose motto had been always "The Three F's." A meeting was held, and it was determined that the old association should be merged in the new, and that the National Land League, hitherto only a Western Vigilance Committee, should embrace the whole country, be permanently fixed in Dublin, and form the head-quarters of the new organization.

This being done, it was decided that Mr. Parnell should start on a tour in America, while the remainder of his party should devote their energies to stumping the English cities to gain the Irish vote at the forthcoming election, and should quietly extend the Land League organization in Ireland. The public attention at the end of 1879

was very much occupied with the distressed condition of certain portions of Ireland. No less than three funds were started for the relief of Irish distress — the Mansion House Fund, the Duchess of Marlborough's Fund, and the New York Herald Fund. To these Mr. Parnell added a fourth, a Land League Fund, when he arrived in America in January, 1880.

It was quite evident from the first that Mr. Parnell's mission in America was a mixed one, partly charitable but chiefly political. He had the best information from Davitt of the feeling of the Irish-American population upon the subject of a new revolutionary movement, and it was only necessary for him to make a tour of the crowded eastern cities and deliver a number of speeches to ensure an enthusiastic reception. He not only did this, but carried out his campaign with Mr. Dillon much farther west, and everywhere the Irish in America received the Irish representatives with the highest honor and enormous demonstrations. In many of Mr. Parnell's speeches we find allusions to the question of Irish nationality, which undoubtedly must have had a great effect upon the masses of his audiences, to whom, as I have already pointed out, the subject came home with the highest possible interest. For instance, at Cleveland, on January 26, 1880, he is thus reported : —

“I have said that we are fighting this battle against heavy odds. I have also said that we feel confident of winning it. It has given me great pleasure during my visit to the cities of this country to see the armed regiments of Irishmen who have frequently turned out to escort us; and when I saw some of these gallant men to-day, who are even now in this hall, I thought that each one of them must wish with Sarsfield of old, when dying upon a foreign battle-field, ‘O THAT I COULD CARRY THESE ARMS FOR IRELAND!’ (Great applause.) Well, IT MAY COME TO THAT SOME DAY OR OTHER.”

Again, at Pittstown on February 16: —

“I wish here to remark, and I am proud to say it, that almost the first contribution that reached Ireland from any quarter before I came over, was £51 sent from your little city, January 6. You have given largely of your means, but if you help to keep these people alive through the winter, we shall kill the cursed Land System. (Cheers.) I promise on our side to fight this battle as pluckily as you can wish. (Loud applause.) Up to this time, the landlords and Government have failed to give assistance, but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued, BUT FROM THE BLOOD OF THE BRAVE CONNEMARA WOMEN WHO RESISTED THE HOME DESTROYERS, SHALL SPRING UP A POWER WHICH WILL SWEEP

AWAY NOT ONLY THE LAND SYSTEM, BUT THE INFAMOUS GOVERNMENT THAT MAINTAINS IT. (Cheers.)”

And on February 23 Mr. Parnell declared in the same strain : —

“I feel confident *we shall kill the Irish Landlord system.* (Applause.) *And when we have given Ireland to the People of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish Nation.* (Loud applause.) The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment. (Applause.) When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place among the nations of the earth. (Applause.) And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. NONE OF US — WHETHER WE IN AMERICA OR IN IRELAND, OR WHEREVER WE MAY BE — WILL BE SATISFIED UNTIL WE HAVE DESTROYED THE LAST LINK WHICH KEEPS IRELAND BOUND TO ENGLAND. (Applause.)”

With such language in his mouth it is hard to believe that Mr. Parnell had not at his fingers’ ends the whole scheme of revolution so ably drawn out by James Fintan Lalor, although it might not suit him to disclose to every assembly

the true meaning of the agitation which he had been leading in Ireland in 1879. But it was necessary to satisfy all classes of Irish in America — the respectable lawyer, the affluent merchant, the local politician, and the dynamite-loving ex-Fenian soldier. It was Mr. Parnell's business to unite all platforms, and link an errand of charity with the sterner business of Irish politics; to be received by the most respectable and thriving Irishmen in every large city, and yet to become also the very incarnation of the impossible aspirations of the various Irish Nationalist societies. In this there can be no doubt Mr. Parnell was eminently successful. He not only collected money for charitable purposes, but he also laid the foundation of the Land League organization in America, from which during the past year has been received so vast a sum of money for political purposes. How he was received, and in what character he was regarded by the Fenian element, is best appreciated by the following extract from the *Irish World* of February 21, 1880, immediately after Mr. Parnell's landing: —

“CHARLES STEWART PARNELL is the apostle who to-day, as he ascends into the altitude of his opportunity, heralds aloud to the world the dawn of that *universal brotherhood in landed rights* which time is as certain of crowning with success as patriots, warriors, and men are to overthrow the oppressors of the earth.

“There is nothing we hope so much as his successful nationalization of Landed Reform. No man could ever have wakened so widely, so deeply, and so generally the heart of any people as he has wakened the hearts, the wills, and the patriotism of Irishmen and Americans, but by being accepted as the leader of a great thought, and as the concentrated embodiment of a great Reform. The great cities have welcomed him with ovations such as no man has received since Lafayette was welcomed as the child of the Revolution he battled into victory, and as the patriot hero of two hemispheres. The smaller cities, villages, towns, and the people from every palatial home, and from every cottage fireside, have sent him greeting, sympathy, money to aid — what? *Not Landlordism, not Monopolies in Land, not tyrannies in Government, not England. No! Not one of these.* BUT IRELAND IN HER MARTYRDOM; IRELAND TO BREAK THE BONDS OF LANDLORD RULE; IRELAND TO PROCLAIM EQUALITY OF RIGHTS IN IRISHMEN TO THE LAND OF IRELAND, *and mankind in defiant demand that all Monopoly in Land shall cease for ever.*

“The great mass of the English people demand it, and they will not be silent.

“The great mass of the American people demand it, and they will never cease agitating and agitating until they have broken up and broken



down every barrier to the universal right of the universal people to their inheritance to God's soil, the earth and the fruits thereof."

The dissolution of Parliament interrupted Mr. Parnell's career in America, and he returned to Ireland to find himself the leader of a powerful Irish party. The Liberal majority in the new House of Commons owed a considerable portion of its members to the Irish vote in England and Scotland, and accordingly the outlook for the coming session seemed hopeful. All now depended upon the energy and audacity of the revolutionists; and the history of the following year proves how true they were to their policy of exasperation and disturbance.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE REIGN OF TERROR.

ON the 31st of March, 1880, Mr. Gladstone, in his speech to the constituency of Midlothian, described the condition of Ireland as one of peculiar prosperity. "There was an absence of crime and outrage," he said, "and a general sense of comfort and satisfaction, such as had been unknown in the previous history of the country." As corollaries to this opinion Mr. Gladstone omitted, in framing the Queen's speech, to make any allusion to the existence of a land question in Ireland, and in the month of July allowed the Acts for the preservation of the peace in Ireland to drop. Mr. Forster declared, in spite of the warning voice of the Duke of Marlborough, the late Lord Lieutenant, in the House of Lords, that he could govern Ireland by the ordinary appliances of the common law. On June 18 the celebrated bill, known as the "Disturbance Bill," was brought in by Mr. Forster, and met with a reception which insured its final rejection by the House of Lords. Unparalleled in principle, the statistics brought forward to support the Bill were demol-

ished, and the facts and figures relied upon were proved to be utterly imaginary. The measure was based upon fallacies, the exposure of which by Messrs. Gibson, Plunket, and Lord George Hamilton, was in itself a remarkable episode in the history of Parliamentary debate. From the very first the proposition was looked upon by the Whig party as a dangerous inroad upon the rights of property, only to be justified by an imperious national necessity, not proved to be existing. The death of the bill was as inglorious as its birth. It produced the resignation of Lord Lansdowne, and it was rejected by the Upper House as a crude, incongruous, illogical, and unsound piece of legislation. It was a measure purloined from the Parnellite party, and proposed more for the purpose of quenching an agitation than benefiting a nation.

Satisfied by the dropping of the "Peace Preservation Act" and the introduction of the "Disturbance Bill" that it only required vigorous measures to force the hand of the English Parliament, Mr. Parnell addressed himself in earnest to the task of revolution. The Land League issued its order and redoubled the work of organization. Assassination commenced. Feerick was brutally murdered at Ballinrobe, and Lord Mountmorres fell a victim to the midnight marauder. From end to end of Ireland, the leaders of the Land League held meeting after meeting, and incited

the people to the verge of madness. In order to gain some idea of the spirit in which the anti-rent agitation was conducted, it is only necessary to read a few extracts from the speeches of the Land League orators. Commencing the campaign at Ennis, Mr. Parnell, on the 19th of September, gave the cue to his audience thus:—

“Depend upon it that the measure of the Land Bill of next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this winter. It will be the measure of your determination not to pay unjust rents; it will be the measure of your determination to keep a firm grip of your homesteads. It will be the measure of your determination not to bid for farms from which others have been evicted, and to use the strong force of public opinion to deter any unjust men amongst yourselves—and there are many such—from bidding for such farms. If you refuse to pay unjust rents, if you refuse to take farms from which others have been evicted, the land question must be settled, and settled in a way that will be satisfactory to you. It depends, therefore, upon yourselves, and not upon any commission or any Government. When you have made this question ripe for settlement, then, and not till then, will it be settled. It is very nearly ripe already in many parts of Ireland. It is ripe in Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Sligo, and portions of the county Cork. But I regret

to say that the tenant farmers of the county Clare have been backward in organization up to the present time. You must take and band yourselves together in Land Leagues. Every town and village must have its own branch. You must know the circumstances of the holdings and of the tenures of the district over which the League has jurisdiction; you must see that the principles of the Land League are inculcated; and when you have done this in Clare, then Clare will take her rank with the other active counties, and you will be included in the next Land Bill brought forward by the Government. Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which another tenant has been evicted?

“Several voices: Shoot him.

“Mr. Parnell: I think I heard somebody say, ‘Shoot him.’ I wish to point out to you a very much better way—a more Christian and charitable way, which will give the lost man an opportunity of repenting. When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must shun him on the roadside when you meet him—you must shun him in the streets of the town—you must shun him in the shop—you must shun him in the fair-green and in the market-place, and even in the place of worship; by leaving him alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his countrymen as

if he were the leper of old, you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed."

Captain Boycott of Ballinrobe was the first victim, and it was not long before the system described by Mr. Parnell became world-renowned, under the name of "boycotting." It was merely a development of Lalor's plan of "moral insurrection," and it was carried out with surprising rapidity throughout the country. How well that revolutionist's own son followed his father's principles is best shown by an extract from a speech delivered at Athy on October 10, 1880. There Mr. Lalor, M.P., commented upon the murder of Lord Mountmorres in the following terms:—

"Their archbishop that day in his pastoral showed that he appeared to be under the impression that the Land League — and he (Mr. Lalor) was a member of it — were advising the people to shed the blood of the landlords. He protested against the archbishop saddling them with the responsibility of every assassination that took place in the country. Neither he nor any one else had a right to do it. They spoke in that way because one poor fellow of the name of Mountmorres was shot the other day. (Groans.) He (Mr. Lalor) would not like to be the man that shot Lord Mountmorres at all. He thought it was a very bad act, but was there a fuss made when a poor man was shot? In England five

murders were committed for every one that was committed in Ireland, and yet there was no fuss made about the men that killed their wives, their children and their sweethearts. (Cheers.) But because a man who was killed here happened to have a title to his name a great fuss was made about him. It was very wrong of the archbishop to have said that this country was steeped in the blood of those men. He (Mr. Lalor) was firmly convinced that, but for the Land League, there would have been ten murders committed for the one that has occurred since it commenced. What the Land League did was to try to show them another road besides shooting those men, who were not worth shooting. The French people, at the time of their Revolution, took a method of getting rid of their landlords that unfortunately they (the meeting) were unable to take. No, they were not able at present to take the method that they took. He wished they were. It was not there that he would be then. They must take other methods."

But Mr. Parnell was not forgetful, in his crusade against landlords, and in his efforts to reconquer the lands of Ireland for the people, to keep the question of nationality before his audiences. Some of his utterances betray an intimate knowledge of the true scope of the new revolution. At Galway, on October 24, 1880, he made the following declaration : —

“I expressed my belief at the beginning of last session that the present Chief Secretary, who was then all smiles and promises, would not have proceeded very far in the duties of his office before he would have found that he had undertaken an impossible task to govern Ireland, and that the only way to govern Ireland is to allow her to govern herself. (Cheers.)

“A Voice: A touch of the rifle.

“Mr. Parnell: And if they prosecute the leaders of this movement——

“A Voice: They dare not.

“Mr. Parnell: If they prosecute the leaders of this movement it is not because they want to preserve the lives of one or two landlords. Much the English Government care about the lives of one or two landlords.

“A Voice: Nor we.

“Another Voice: Away with them.

“Mr. Parnell: But it will be because they see that behind this movement lies a more dangerous movement to their hold over Ireland; because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism here—and they will fail—they have no chance of maintaining it over Ireland; it will be because they know that if they fail in upholding landlordism in Ireland their power to misrule Ireland will go too. (Cheers). I wish to see the tenant farmer prosperous; but, large and impor-



tant as is the class of tenant farmers, constituting, as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, *I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.* (Cheers.) Push on, then, towards this goal, extend your organization, and let every tenant farmer, while he keeps a firm grip of his holding, recognize also the great truth that he is serving his country and the people at large, and helping to break down English misrule in Ireland."

This note was kept up by every prominent speaker throughout the autumn of 1880. At Clonmel, October 24, 1880, Mr. Leamy made a remark which is worth noting, as showing the steps which, as a revolutionist, he thought necessary to secure the independence of Ireland.

"The three great obstacles," he said, "to the national independence of Ireland were the Catholic disabilities until 1829, the Protestant ascendancy until the disestablishment in 1870, and the third and last great obstacle was this foreign system of land tenure. Let them get rid of that obstacle, and then would be the time for willing hands to rear up the stately edifice of Irish independence."

But as the leader of the revolution, Mr. Par-

nell's words must especially be noted, and I will conclude by giving one more extract from that gentleman's political belief.

At Waterford, on December 6, he said, "I always like to take every opportunity of pressing on the attention of my fellow-countrymen the necessity of taking possession of all the local bodies in this country, beginning with the corporations and ending with the Poor Law Boards. (Applause.) There is no reason why all these bodies should not be absolutely in the power and control and direction of the people. (Applause.) In a short while we hope to replace the present system of county government by irresponsible grand juries, with one which will give full and complete representation to those who pay rates. We shall have in each Irish county a little Parliament — (hear, hear) — and it will be the duty of the Irish members to insure, when the question of county government comes before the House of Commons, that the people shall be properly and thoroughly represented on these boards, and that full power shall be given to the county boards to control all the affairs of their counties. It will not then be possible to levy heavy rates for the support of extra constabulary in the counties. It will not then be possible to tax the people and deprive them of money for purposes over which they have no control and in which they have no

interest ; and we shall have in each county an educational centre — a centre which will educate the people in the duties of self-government, which will train up men to take a part in that higher national life which we hope to partake in upon the restoration of our own Parliament. All this must be done gradually, and the work of making the power of our minority in this country felt must be a gradual one. But we have seen that it has been advancing of late years with very rapid strides. I feel convinced that in five or six years' time at the outside we shall have broken the power of the English Government to govern us in Ireland, and shall have compelled them to restore to the Irish people the right of self-government. (Cheers.) I do not venture this prediction in any too sanguine a spirit. I am not very much of an enthusiast by nature, but I believe that we have the control of forces which are practically irresistible, that these forces are suited for the object that we have in view, and that, with a really independent party and with an organized people, it will be impossible to maintain the unnatural system of government that we have here. Sacrifices will undoubtedly be necessary, but that liberty is not worth anything for which the people are not prepared to make some sacrifices — (hear, hear) — and I am sure that the smaller sacrifices which our people are called on to make in these

days will be cheerfully made. (Hear, hear.) They don't compare with those which many of our forefathers made on many a blood-stained field. (Cheers.)"

By such speeches and promises as these was anarchy encouraged. In September it excited much alarm. In October Mr. Forster sent to Ireland a detachment of marines, and in November the State trials were instituted. In December the anarchy had become a reign of terror, and the state of the country is best described in the words of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald when addressing the grand inquest of Munster.

"I do not wish," he said, "to be guilty of exaggeration, or to create excitement or alarm. I desire now to express myself in the calm and measured language that best becomes one to whom the administration of justice is committed; and I should fall short of my duty if I did not point out to you how in several districts, embracing a large portion of Munster, true liberty has ceased to exist and intolerable tyranny prevails. Life is not secure, right is disregarded, the process of the law cannot be enforced, and dishonesty and lawlessness disgrace the land."

Mr. Justice Fitzgerald was not alone in his opinion. Judge Dowse, Judge Barry, and Judge Lawson, each in his circuit at the winter assizes, declared the country to be in a state of anarchy

and confusion. Catholic and Protestant clergymen joined in condemnation of the Land League, and public men in England of all parties looked upon the state of Ireland with anxiety and forebodings. Thus ended the year 1880. During all the confusion which prevailed, the Bessborough Commission, appointed by Mr. Gladstone to consider the working of the Land Act of 1870, had been taking evidence, and its report ushered in the new year. The history of the year 1881 is already fresh in the memory of the public. The early assembling of Parliament; the failure to obtain a verdict in the State trials, although Mr. Justice Fitzgerald said that the evidence for the Crown was so complete that he would direct a verdict if it was a civil action; the struggle over the Coercion Act; the arrest of Davitt and Dillon; the introduction of the Land Bill; the long debate and final acceptance of that measure by the House of Lords; the recommencement of the revolutionary agitation and the arrest of Mr. Parnell and his comrades—all these events are recent and well known. The “settlement” of Ireland is supposed to be complete, but the “moral insurrection” which led to it has lighted a fire which it will be found almost impossible to put out without the destruction of further property. Lalor’s policy has been so far successful. The peasantry are the lords of Ireland. The second part of the

drama has yet to be played out. When that comes there are many in Ireland who will say with Hudibras —

“Indeed, ’t is pity you should miss  
Th’ arrears of all your services  
In letting rapine loose and murder;  
To rage just so far and no further,  
And setting all the land on fire  
To burn to a scantling and no higher.

\* \* \* \* \*

Who when your projects have miscarried  
Can lay them with undaunted carriage  
On those you painfully trepanned.”\*

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\* “Hudibras” canto ii. l. 1037, etc.

## CHAPTER X.

### IRISH PARTIES IN AMERICA.

AFTER all these years of political agitation amongst the Irish in America, let us now see what is the attitude of the Irish race across the Atlantic, as well towards Ireland as towards England. Amongst the many nationalities that have settled down in the United States of America, the Irish have remained as a distinctive section in the population, and have a political interest in European and foreign politics generally which is not to be found in any other section of the complex American population.

The Irish in America, rightly or wrongly, believe that the vast immigration of their race into that continent is owing to English rule. They believe themselves to have been "frozen out" of their native land, to use an expression of one of themselves to me; and, accordingly, from generation to generation there has come down an unreasoning and yet solid feeling of inextinguishable hostility to the English system of government. And this feeling is part and parcel of the Irish mind in America.

Without the assistance of American brains and American gold, the Irish agitation of 1879-1881 would have shared the same fate as that which befell the schemes of Mitchel, Lalor, O'Brien, and others in 1848, and awaited the efforts of Stephens in 1865. From the very commencement, however, the life which treasure gives to any concerted action has been the mainspring of the success of Mr. Parnell and the Land League. That life has been steadily infused into the Irish political organizations by means of the Irish in America. The Land League is there supported by every class of Irishmen. The organization represented to them, according to each man's political creed, the symbol of his national pride or the instrument of his national revenge. All Irish societies have supported with their dollars this new departure in Irish politics. From the "skirmishers" of O'Donovan Rossa's stamp, who hopes to make the Irish Land League subservient to his own ends, up to the President of the Land League in America, Mr. Collins, a thoughtful intelligent lawyer in the city of Boston — from the miner to the merchant — all contribute their money to the common idea, namely, that of obtaining, at the very least, for their native country the same privileges which each state in the Union possesses in relation to the central American Government.

But there are the same divisions and differences



in their views with regard to the modes of obtaining their common end as prevail among their fellow-countrymen at home.

The physical force men have always been anxious to dominate the executive of the Irish National Land League, and they have succeeded to a large extent in getting control of the organization. But during the past six months there has been a growing schism amongst the various Irish leaders. The passing of the Land Act has largely affected the thinking and intelligent leaders, whose thoughts are directed to the final settlement of the Irish and English question on a "live and thrive" basis rather than to the perpetuation of hereditary animosity and political distrust between the two countries. At present the position of affairs is as follows:—There are two great parties amongst the Irish Americans—the one headed by the editor of the *Irish World*, Mr. Patrick Ford, of New York; and the other headed by Mr. Collins, of Boston, the President of the Land League organizations in America, and Mr. John Boyle O'Reilly, of Boston, the proprietor and editor of the *Boston Pilot*. Besides these, there is yet another party, which may be called the Dynamite faction, but even to name the leaders is to confer a distinction which they do not deserve. They have no politics at heart. They can find no one to trust them. Even the most serious revolution-

ists distrust them, and so they content themselves by making war upon society in general, and inciting dupes to commit crimes which they would never have thought of themselves. The great difference between the Ford party and the Collins party is that the former is in favor of revolution and separation from England, while the latter is for "constitutional agitation" and Home Rule. The Chicago Convention was the turning point of this latest division of the Irish in America. The manifesto calling that convention together was signed by Messrs. Ford, Collins, and O'Reilly. But this unity of action lasted no longer than was absolutely necessary to call the convention together. It soon became evident that Mr. Ford intended to use every possible effort to make the convention assume in the eyes of the public what it never was intended to be, a demonstration of the power and influence of the "physical force" party of the Irish in America. The remarkable fact that the contributions to the No-Rent-Fund received by the *Irish World* dwindled to one-half after the Chicago Convention proved beyond all doubt that a very important section of the Irish race in America do not support the latest edict of the Land League organization in Paris.

Mr. Collins, the president of all the American branches of the Land League, has distinctly said that he and his party never attempted to control

or direct the Irish Land Executive at home. It tendered advice and contributed funds, but was perfectly satisfied to abide by what was done by the Irish leaders. The Land Act was considered a great concession, and the Boston leaders were of opinion that it should be accepted and utilized. With regard to the No-Rent manifesto, they have been more or less reticent. In the *Pilot* it was decribed as a "temporary resource of a people lawlessly attacked, muzzled, and manacled, by a brutal Government."

The best indication, indeed, of the divisions of the Irish parties in America at the present moment is, as usual, to be found in their own journals. It is a remarkable fact that one of the original persons who revived and formulated afresh James Fintan Lalor's scheme of moral insurrection, as opposed to physical or military rebellion, has during the last few months recanted all his former ideas, abandoned the new departure he proclaimed in 1879, and once more taken up "the sword" as the only means of effecting Ireland's independence. In November, 1880, John Devoy started a new journal in New York, called the *Irish Nation*, which advocates the views of what may be called the fourth party. In the second number of his new organ, Devoy made use of language which I quote in order to give the answer of the Boston party to the physical force argument. "A few

years must decide," says Devoy, "whether she [Ireland] is to take her place among the nations, or for ever renounce her hopes of freedom. Although the issue raised two years ago involved no question of government, it has brought the national question to the front, and is fast ripening it for solution. . . . There is no use ignoring facts. If Ireland wins her freedom, she must wade to it through blood and suffering and sacrifice. Independence means revolution, red-handed and remorseless. . . . If Ireland is to be freed in this generation we must go about the business in a more practical way than at present. The people at home must be prepared—*they must be armed*. They must not be left at the mercy of flying columns and squads of police, and their spirit broken before the time to strike can come. We in America must do more than make speeches and subscribe money 'to keep the agitation alive.' An agitation that must be fed and fostered and subsidized from abroad has nothing in it. Let us devote some of our spare cash to preparing Ireland for the final ordeal; some of our time to devising means of helping Ireland substantially when that ordeal has to be faced. *Let us get arms*. Without them no progress is possible."

It is quite evident from this that Devoy considers the first part of the moral insurrection scheme

finished. All that can be done has been done. The people are in possession of the lands, and it only remains to arm them and to wait a favorable opportunity for an armed insurrection. In this probably the *Irish World* agrees, as will be seen.

But the Boston party are of quite a different opinion. Writing on the 5th of November, before the Chicago Convention, the *Pilot* says:—

“It must be remembered by the Chicago Convention, and all other Irish-American conventions, that there is to be no dictation to Ireland as to what line she is to pursue. The five and a half millions there are the people to judge. It would be better and manlier for the millions here who have left Ireland forever to cut away from her altogether than to attempt to coerce or decide for her. If Ireland choose to agitate for a federal union with England, depending on her great natural advantages, and on her native militia or volunteers to insist on them, we Irish-Americans should promise her continued sympathy and support. This is her choice at present in her own words. We believe it is a wise one; she will be better able to demand and secure more, if necessary, after ten or twenty years of Home Rule.

“Nevertheless, it is far from our wish to see the physical force men, the separatists, disband their organizations, and come on to the constitutional platform. There could be no surer way of prevent-

ing Ireland from getting any improvement whatever. All countries keep a force party, an organized army, as a threat behind the spoken word. The country that is struggling for existence surely needs this in a special manner. The *Irish Nation* irrefutably says that it was the armed volunteers behind Grattan who secured the Parliament of 1782.

“Therefore we trust that as Irish unity proceeds there will be one allowance made on all sides—of the necessity of a party of physical force to which all Irishmen can fall back should England refuse Ireland’s coming demand for Home Rule.

“Until the Home Rule idea is tried to the uttermost, and refused by England, the physical force party can never depend on the whole Irish people. In case of that refusal there is only one course for earnest Irishmen to take.”

And again, in the same issue:—

“Give Ireland a home government and it will be her interest, even more than it is Scotland’s, to become a quiet part of the empire, as Hungary entered into the life of Austria, and grew at a bound to be the most important part of the empire, so Ireland with a home government and a proper representation in an imperial council or Parliament, can hold her own and grow rich and respected.

“Ireland has convinced England that she will

not, can not be ruled, except by her own people. England sees to-day the advantage of having Ireland at peace. She fears entire separation, and will coerce and lie and murder to oppose it. But a firm and intelligent demand for a federal union between the countries will now win its way with unprecedented speed among all classes of Englishmen, and will be supported by the public opinion of the world."

To this comparatively moderate statement of Mr. O'Reilly's, no doubt written by himself, the *Irish World*, December 3, 1881, retorts the insinuation of "traitor."

"We are sorry to see the *Boston Pilot*," writes Mr. Ford, "lending its influence to further the plans of the Whig element in the American branches of the Land League. This it does in an article that we cannot help regarding as a direct attack on the Land League. We do not say that the article was written with that intent, but what we do say is that adopting the advice contained in it would result in killing the Land League organization, and in that way the English Government would be relieved of all fear of a movement that has welded the Irish race the world over into one compact whole. . . . And what are we promised when we, 'change the Land League organization, root and branch, into something larger'? Why, Home Rule!

“We thought we had heard the last of this abortion in Irish politics. But the *Pilot*, it seems, believes that sacrificing the Land League would not be too great a price to pay for breathing the breath of life into Home Rule. . . .

“Ireland will not sacrifice her nationality for the thing called Home Rule. For centuries she has denied, and she to-day continues to deny, the right of England to make laws for her. She, and she alone, possesses that right, and any compromise, call it Home Rule or what you may, that does not place in Ireland’s hand the power of shaping her own destinies, without any interference from an imperial Parliament, or any other outside source, should be spurned with contempt by the Irish nation.

“Do not let it be supposed that the men who have enlisted in this land war have lost sight of Ireland’s claims to national independence. They have never once lowered the national banner, but the political freedom they wish to confer on Ireland will go hand in hand with industrial freedom, based on the possession of the soil of Ireland by the whole people of Ireland, and not by one class, as the Whig Home Rulers and some sham Nationalists desire.

“The whole matter of fact is that the Land League is laying a solid foundation, on which there will be yet upreared an Irish Republic that



will not be the sham all republics have been that have refused to make every one of their citizens a partaker in the benefits that our Heavenly Father has bounteously bestowed upon all His children.

“The Land League, we firmly believe, has begun a new era not only for Ireland but for the whole civilized world, for the industrial revolution it has inaugurated is destined to extend far beyond its own limits. And shall the Land League turn aside from this high mission to disinter the corpse of Home Rule from the grave where it has been so long buried?

“We said in the beginning of this article that the Land League, which has proved its power to cope with open enemies, has most to fear from its Whig friends. The proposal to convert it into a movement to resurrect Home Rule proves, I think, the truth of this assertion.

“Let every true friend of Ireland resolve to stamp out this conspiracy against the life of the Land League. We must not permit the glorious work of Davitt and Parnell to end in any such disgraceful way.”

All this is interesting as showing the enormous diversity of opinions in America as to what is to be done next. Both parties are quarrelling over Mr. Parnell and the skeleton organization of the defunct or Irish National Land League. It reminds one somewhat of the two sportsmen out

shooting, depicted by *Punch* as both stooping to pick up a partridge which had fallen to a joint volley: "My bird, I think!" says the first sportsman. "Mine, I fancy!" quoth the second.

Meanwhile the Irish masses continue to subscribe to the various funds which have from time to time been formed. Nothing can exceed their interest and enthusiasm in the whole subject of Ireland. I had several opportunities of judging for myself of the extent of their feeling. The most remarkable, perhaps, was at a meeting in New York, held at the Cooper Institute, on November 10, 1881, when Mr. Healy, M.P., and Rev. Mr. Sheehy were received on their arrival from Ireland. There were about three thousand people present, and there was a large platform audience, made up of a very independent and representative class of Irish-American New Yorkers. An American flag and an Irish banner embellished the wall behind the platform, while by far the most conspicuous object on the platform was a handsome green silk standard, on which was inscribed, "1782," and the number of an Irish-American regiment, which was waved by the holder whenever the audience applauded. When the wandering Land Leaguers were introduced by the chairman, Colonel O'Byrne, the whole assembly rose to their feet, cheering wildly and waving their hats. Father Sheehy was the first to speak. But the reverend gentleman

fell into the error of over-studying his subject. He was fettered by his manuscript, which lay before him in huge folios. His utterance was disjointed, his voice thin and often inaudible. Now and then the ex-prisoner would shake himself free from his written lecture, and bring down the house with a good hearty "The land for the people!" or "Down with landlordism!" but then the good father would remember he was not on a village platform, and he would seek his text and read, in somewhat stilted tones, a peroration which smacked very much of the cabin lamp of a Transatlantic steamer. There was no magnetism in his voice, no responsive heat in his audience, though indeed the fault lay not with them. All the enthusiasm of Fenianism rang out when once the father smote the kindred chord, and said that it would be far better for five thousand men to die on the open field than that Ireland should again be dependent for relief on the charity of the world. As if by magic, the whole assembly rose, and waved their hats and shouted and hurrahed in the wildest excitement. "That's the logic!" roared one enthusiast. "Now you are talkin'!" vociferated another, and it was evident that the Land Act was as nothing compared to the national desire for a fight in some quarter of the globe.

## CHAPTER XI.

### AMERICAN OPINIONS ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

It may be asked, What do the native Americans think of the present crisis in Ireland? I was myself in the United States when the No-Rent manifesto was published and Mr. Parnell was arrested, and took some pains to discover, from the public press and other sources, the general opinion of the average cool-headed and sensible Americans upon the most recent developments of Irish affairs.

When Mr. Parnell visited America in 1880, to collect funds for charitable and political purposes, the attitude of Americans was widely different to what it is now. American opinion then, as represented by the press, was unmistakably in favor of a considerable portion of the Land League programme. Free land is the rule in the United States and the Americans wished to see the best possible terms made for the Irish tenant. All classes opened their purses to aid the distressed Irish peasant, and a widespread sympathy with the physical misery of the people was strikingly evinced. So far as the political agitation struck at the unjust treatment of the tenant, so far

American public opinion favored Mr. Parnell's movement and no further. At the time of Mr. Parnell's arrest and now, it may be said, the fount of American sympathy for Irish grievances is altogether dried up. The press, throughout the Republic, susceptible as it is, as a whole, of more or less manipulation by the Irish interest for political purposes, has taken up an attitude of disapproval or cold neutrality, where formerly cordiality or sympathetic criticism was the rule. The title of land in America is not so old that land-owners care to talk of land-robbers and land-sharks. The War of Rebellion and its scars are not so easily forgotten that a secessional movement in Ireland, with all its accompanying horrors, can be either approved or assisted by voice or pen. It is easy to read between the lines. There are certain journals in America which endeavor to gauge public as opposed to party opinion. Such are the *New York Herald*, the *Chicago Times*, and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. In all these cities there are very large Irish populations, and in all Mr. Parnell was received, on his visit to America, with the greatest enthusiasm. Immediately on the news of the arrest of Mr. Parnell, all these organs of public opinion wrote very strongly.

The *New York Herald* said in its issue of October 18, 1881, "Ireland, wrought up to a wild

and desperate humor by the acts of agitation, is in a condition of social revolt, and it may well trouble wiser heads than those now governing England to know what may soothe and satisfy her. Public opinion in that country has even lost all the ordinary sense of proportion in judging of men's acts. If in a collision in the streets one man goes down with the police buckshot in him, there is a wild cry against this official barbarity; but if, out of eleven laborers who have worked on a forbidden farm, five are shot on their way home, it seems to be regarded with tranquil complacency, for in Ireland now, as in all countries in all times of revolutionary ferment, no act is evil that satisfies in any degree the passions of a fierce social resentment. We may call the act by what names we like. Epithets will not change the case. It will always be regarded by every people as a patriotic act to kill one of the common enemy; and there is no disguising the fact that throughout Ireland to-day the most energetic element of the population is acting under the assumption that the landowner and the authorities who defend and sustain him, and all who by their assistance enable him in any degree whatever to enjoy or profit by his possessions, are the enemies of the Irish people and their cause, and should be summarily dealt with as such. It would not be easy to say to what limits an excited nation may in such circumstances

push its demands ; but it is clear that the least of Ireland's requirements now is a general confiscation of the estates of great landowners and an assignment of farms to actual occupants — the obliteration of the legal title where this represents merely the right of a titular owner of that large proportion of the produce which is handed over as rent. To be absolutely relieved from this burden is the demand of Ireland so far as she is influenced by the Land League operations.

A very few days before the arrest of Mr. Parnell the *Pioneer Press* made the following curious prophesy : — “ The issue was not doubtful, and its arrival but a question of time. Sooner or later England must be wearied into a consent to separation, or must confront violence with violence, and put down insubordination with armed force. There can be no more question of the necessity of the latter than of the necessity of fighting the southern confederacy. The arrest of Parnell and the others must happen to-day, or next month, or next year. When Mr. Gladstone realized this, he decided to meet the movement for Irish independence and crush it, before it had acquired any greater momentum from the lapse of time. “ All had been done for Ireland that circumstances admit, and more than the wildest visionaries of a few years ago would have dared to ask. In recompense, the League said that the law should not

have a trial; thereby tacitly confessing its fear that evils would be abolished and its grievance removed. If the representatives of a state in Congress were to ask a national law for their benefit, and, such law having been passed, were to incite the whole people of that state to resistance and to prevent the enactment from even going on trial, would there be any question of the grave but necessary duty laid upon the nation?"

On October 19 also the *Chicago Times* thus denounced the Land League movement: "The Land League has been determined from the first that the Land Law should not be successful. Its passage was resisted in the House of Commons instead of assisted. From the moment of its passage the orators of the league have employed their time assuring the people of Ireland that no possible good could come to them from the law; that its passage was a trick of the Saxon oppressor, whose ancestors some centuries ago invaded Ireland; and appealing to the people to pay no rent, to obstruct the execution of the laws, and to do everything in their power to make the government of Ireland in the present form impossible. Were there an organized effort in a part of this state to make the collection of debts impossible, were the lives of creditors threatened and sometimes taken, and were the courts paralyzed by the refusal of jurors to convict and of witnesses to testify, these same Americans who are now sweeping the strings



of the harp of Erin would be demanding in the most imperative manner that the Government should call out the militia and subdue the malcontents, and that he should appeal to the President for the assistance of the army if the militia were insufficient. The railroad strikers and rioters in this country in 1877 could urge poverty as there plea as well as the Irish tenants can, but they got no sympathy from the masses of the American people who are now expected to make the cause of the Irish tenantry their own.

“Having got the Land Bill, the Irish agitators simply change the object of the agitation. Formerly their complaint was economic, and they demanded a change in the law of landlord and tenant; now it is political, and they demand the repeal of the Act of Union. Last year the ‘three F’s’ was their cry; they have now got them, or at least they have got a law which it is believed will give them the three F’s, and now their cry is ‘Ireland for the Irish!’ It is a good cry, too, but it is quite evident that when the Act of Union is repealed, and Mr. Parnell’s vision of a Parliament on College Green is realized, the agitation will be no nearer its termination than it is now. The demand then will be for complete political independence. It is natural that Ireland should want that, but it is impossible that England should grant it and remain a nation of any importance in the world’s affairs. Twenty years

ago a portion of our Union wanted the Act of Union repealed ; we fought four years to prevent it, and we have felt very hard toward England because a large number of her people sympathized with those of our nation who were fighting for home rule. It would be more consistent of Americans to be a little subdued in their declarations that the tyrant Government of England ought to let any of its subjects withdraw and set up a government of its own whenever they wish."

I believe these to be a very fair expression of the opinion of honest and unbiassed Americans. They corroborate my own observations, and may be thought worthy of public attention and respect. The American people are tired of the whole question. They do not care to hear anything more said about the business. Being Republicans and accustomed to self-government, they are, as a rule, in favor of republican institutions and self-government in all other countries ; but they have not the faintest notion of getting hysterical over the state of Ireland or over Mr. Gladstone's policy. In so far as the Irish are a large voting population, they are interested about the Irish ; but as regards their nationality or their native country, they do not trouble themselves. "What is it all about *anyhow* ?" is the query most likely to be put by the average native American. And with this he leaves the question and turns once more in pursuit of the almighty dollar.

## CHAPTER XII.

### CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now endeavored to show how Irish revolutionists, by utilizing the programme of a forgotten rebel of 1848, have transferred the lands of Ireland into the hands of the Irish masses. The Irish race in America, as I have shown, have contributed largely to this result. The revolution is now almost complete. It was planned and carried out by men who for years had harbored in the United States, after having gone as far at home as they dared in open and armed insurrection against the peace of her Majesty the Queen. What is to come next?

It would indeed be hard to answer the question — principally because it is impossible to appreciate at the present moment the changes which have swept over the country during the last twelve months. The man most experienced, practically and historically, in the state of Ireland would to-day be most cautious in his forecast. The present state of the country and what has occurred within the past three years was as little expected by those best skilled in political foresight as by the most ignorant and least instructed.

Let us, however, for a moment pause and analyze the social condition of Ireland as now exhibited. The masses of the people are still heaving under the revolutionary agitation of the three preceding years. They have imbibed all the newest theories of the most fanciful American writers and thinkers upon social subjects. They have seen the government of the country conducted upon a system of aphorisms, and they have accordingly accepted aphorisms as their own rule of life and conduct. "Property is robbery," "interest for money is theft," and "rent is an immoral tax"—these are the branches of the new popular upas tree.

Moreover, the influence of the clergy has been flouted and disregarded as it never has been before in the history of the country. The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin himself has been "boycotted" and his coat-of-arms damaged upon his palace in Rutland Square. A system of terror and chicane has superseded the law of the land. The whole of the agricultural population have with one consent united for the purpose of resisting the process of the law and of plundering those to whom they were indebted. Anarchy and terrorism, and outrage upon man and beast, have been for eighteen months universal. Irish women have forgotten all decency and modesty, and have stripped men naked on the highway, flogging them

with whin-bushes. Judges of assize have inveighed in every province against crime. Parliament has endeavored to coerce illegal associations. The Executive Government has filled the jails with suspected persons.

But all has been of no avail. The revolution has never been checked. The floodgates have been lifted up so high that everything opposing the rushing torrent of agrarian democracy has been swept away. One stops aghast, and asks, What and where are the forces to compel attention and rescue an unhappy country from the suffering and demoralization of another upheaval? Class has been set against class with a bitterness and eager assiduity which finds no parallel since the French Revolution. The press teems with misrepresentations and false deductions from new and unheard-of principles. What used to be axioms of property are now denied or disputed. The shop windows are full of caricatures bringing all that is above the mob down to their own level — and, as is well known, the low is with the populace the sublime. The gentry and aristocracy have been hounded down personally and persistently. Sport has ceased, and in its place lawless mobs sweep the country side, killing everything before them, sometimes prevented from bursting into private demesnes by armed bodies of soldiers and police. Trade and enterprise has entirely

ceased, and a well-known Dublin manufacturer, in the daily press, deplored the loss and decay of Irish manufactures. The land-owning and land-occupying classes are engaged in an endless and expensive system of litigation, which can only produce ruin and discontent instead of prosperity and peace.

In fact, the whole fabric of society has been shaken to its very base and the foundations undermined. The revolution is nearly complete; and by far the worst feature of the present deplorable condition of things is the fact, generally known and acknowledged, that the material comforts and pecuniary condition of the farming class has never been so good as it now is. Harvests for the past two years have been plentiful, and the cry of distress has not even been whispered. But there remains yet another and most important wave of revolution in the immediate future, which promises to disturb the present "settlement." The laborers, of equal numbers with the farmers, are already on the move. They are complaining that they have been left out in the cold, while the farmers have been making themselves snug, and we find the usual steps in revolution proceeding. The revolutionists who have been successful find themselves face to face with two discontented classes. On the one hand are the former owners of property, now mere annuitants, holding by

precarious title; and on the other hand are the vast army of laborers demanding from the farmers a share in the spoil. We already see the effect upon the farmers in the verdicts they are now returning against rioters and plunderers. How long the laborers and farmers will remain at peace is an interesting problem. Certain it is they contain between them, the seeds of yet another revolution.

Such is the state of affairs at home. Looking across the Atlantic to what is sometimes called Greater Ireland, we see a vast population of Irish, divided into sections among themselves but united as one body in their desire to inflict injury on England. Under the specious plea of putting down Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, as well religious as landed and educational, the English Parliament has been putting down English ascendancy, soon to become, in the hopes of the revolutionists, Irish supremacy. The smallest concession that would content the Irish in America and the revolutionists at home is such liberties as would belong to a state of the American Union. They see that under such liberties they would soon enact the right of carrying arms, and "only give us our arms and we shall recover, not only our lands, but our independence." The immediate consequence would be a civil war, in which England and Scotland would be pitted against Ireland.

Ulster would remain, as of old, the vanguard of the two countries, and after a desolating war, there is little doubt who would remain the conquerors. Then would be verified the great moralist's commentary upon the folly of human wishes:

“How nations sink, by darling schemes oppress,  
When vengeance listens to the fool's request.”





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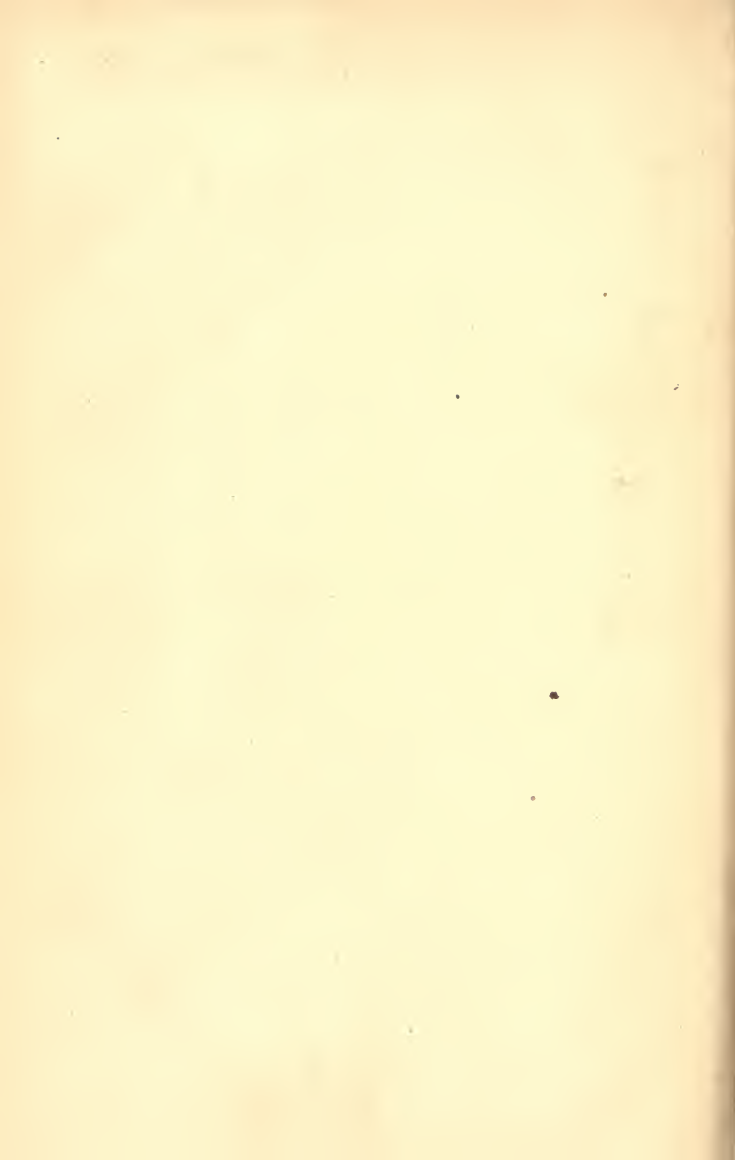
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